To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Sue A. Remaley entitled "Knoxville's Poor Neighborhoods: Types of Poverty in an Appalachian City." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science with a major in Geography.

Charles S. Aiken

Charles S. Aiken, Major Professor

We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

Thomas L Bell

Ronald Fonseca

Benita J. Howell

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn Minkel

Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

KNOXVILLE'S POOR NEIGHBORHOODS: TYPES OF POVERTY IN AN APPALACHIAN CITY

A Thesis

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Master of Science

Degree

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ABSTRACT

In the past thirty years, the American public has developed a stereotype of poor urban neighborhoods. Most people equate urban poverty with blacks and Hispanics, female-headed families on welfare, crime, and dilapidated row homes. Academicians researching urban poverty are at least partially responsible for these images. Most urban poverty research has looked at northeastern and midwestern cities, examined large cities, or assumed a nationally homogeneous type of urban poverty. These biases are most evident in recent studies on the underclass, which call for national government response to increasing poverty among inner-city blacks and Hispanics. As poor neighborhoods are affected by regional dynamics, city size, and local public policy, such studies oversimplify the nature of urban poverty.

This thesis focuses on poor neighborhoods in the urbanized area of Knoxville, Tennessee. Poor neighborhoods are identified as United States Census block groups in which 20% or more of the population is poor. A cluster analysis technique is used to categorize poor neighborhoods into types based on Census demographic, economic, and physical landscape variables. Historical data and field investigations are employed to check and interpret statistical results.

This research demonstrates that most of Knoxville's poor neighborhoods are white neighborhoods in which residents own their own homes. The population characteristics, housing types, and landscapes of Knoxville's white owner occupied neighborhoods are similar to those of rural Appalachia. Most residents of Knoxville's white owner-occupied neighborhoods are members of two-parent families, employed, and not reliant on public assistance. Such urban neighborhoods are direct contrasts to prevailing perceptions of urban poverty and the underclass.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Urban poverty is one of the most significant problems facing the United States. In 1985, the United States Bureau of the Census estimated that nearly twenty percent of the urban population did not make enough money to feed, clothe, and shelter itself properly (U.S. Census of Population, 1987). Of particular interest to geographers is the fact that the urban poor are clustering. Between 1975 and 1983 the percentage of poor persons living in census tracts with high concentrations of poverty grew by 25 percent (U.S. Census of Population, 1985a).[1]

Ironically, as the urban poor became spatially concentrated, public policy shifted away from place-oriented poverty programs. During the 1980s, many of the Great Society era programs directed at urban poverty were readjusted to aid poor people, not poor places (Knox, 1988). Most Federal poverty policy decisions were guided by the philosophy that the urban poor are best helped by a healthy national economy rather than highly specialized neighborhood grants (Nathan, 1983).

In response to the dissonance between poverty trends and poverty policy in the 1980s, many social scientists advocated place-oriented studies of urban poverty. Most aligned themselves behind the idea of an urban underclass, a new and unique way of defining the urban poverty problem. Research on the urban underclass stressed that many poor urban neighborhoods are plagued, not only by increasing poverty rates, but also by concurrent increases in female headship of families, welfare dependency, crime, unemployment, and other types of "concentrated deviance" (Hughes, 1989). The idea of

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[1] The U.S. Bureau of the Census defines a census tract as "poor" if at least 20 percent of its population is below the federally designated poverty level.

an urban underclass was inherently spatial. It allowed researchers to approach the study of poverty in-place, emphasizing that the poor both influence and are influenced by their environment.

In their attempt to describe the underclass, many researchers defined diagnostic traits of underclass neighborhoods. In addition to female headship of families, crime, and welfare dependency, most portrayed the underclass as black or Hispanic (Wilson, 1987; Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988; Clark and Nathan, 1986). They also described the physical environments of underclass neighborhoods. In The Urban Underclass, Lemann depicted underclass neighborhoods as crowded areas of urban blight with dilapidated row homes, public housing projects, and many vacant buildings (Lemann, 1986).

During my initial research on poor urban neighborhoods, I became concerned that such underclass neighborhoods may not be present in all cities in the United States. In contrast to the stereotypical descriptions of the underclass, many residents of poor neighborhoods in Knoxville, Tennessee are white, employed, and members of two-parent families (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b). The landscapes of poor neighborhoods in Knoxville differ from those that underclass research describes. Although some neighborhoods are congested and characterized by high rates of crime and drug use, others have owner-occupied dwellings on large lots.

A. BIASES IN EXISTING URBAN POVERTY RESEARCH

As I examined the existing body of urban poverty research, I identified four trends which have rendered an underclass stereotype. Most urban poverty research has looked at northeastern and midwestern cities, examined large cities, used the census tract as the areal unit of analysis, and focused only on parts of the poor population.

Regional Bias

Most urban poverty research examines northeastern and midwestern cities. This trend started with the social ecologists of the Chicago school (Burgess, Park and McKenzie, 1925), continued through the post Civil Rights era (Bunge, 1975; Deskins, 1969; Ley, 1974), and is manifest in research on the underclass (Auletta, 1982; Lemann, 1986; Wilson, 1987). While southward and westward population shifts prompted some research in other cities including Atlanta and Los Angeles, most poverty research of the 1980s described "rust belt" cities.

Regional variations in settlement patterns, economic health, and physical environment hinder the ability of northeastern and midwestern cities to stand as models for urban social processes in the United States (Knox, 1988). Several recent studies have suggested that there are regional variations in some of the characteristics frequently associated with the underclass. Kasarda found that northeastern and midwestern cities are likely to have higher unemployment rates than other cities (Kasarda, 1989). Moore found that the poverty rate among Hispanics is directly proportional to the poverty rate of the region in which they live and that Hispanics in northeastern and midwestern cities are more likely to be poor and unemployed than those in the southwestern and southeastern cities (Moore, 1988). Ricketts and Sawhill suggested that older industrial cities of the Northeast are more likely to be characterized by large "underclass populations" than cities in other regions of the United States (Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988).

Several researchers have suggested that southern cities are unique types of urban areas. Using a cluster analysis, Morrill and Wohlenberg found that southern cities exhibit higher concentrations of poverty, larger black populations, more employed poor persons, and greater discrepancy between white and black income levels than northeastern and

midwestern cities (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971). Rose suggested that southern cities are more racially segregated than northeastern and midwestern cities. He found that black ghettos in southern cities did not expand into white residential space until after World War II (Rose, 1971). Knox found that southern cities tend to have larger percentages of poor people and more of their poor concentrated in poor neighborhoods than northeastern and midwestern cities (Knox, 1988).

All of these works indicate that poverty in southern cities is less likely to be characterized by underclass characteristics than poverty in northeastern and midwestern cities. Table I-1 shows statistics on traits often associated with the urban underclass for the four census subdivisions of the United States. As researchers have suggested, southern cities have higher concentrations of non-white persons, lower long-term unemployment rates, and higher poverty rates than northeastern and midwestern cities. Because they developed later, southern cities have younger housing stock than cities in the Northeast and Midwest. Persons in poor neighborhoods of southern cities are less likely to live in the type of dilapidated and crowded housing described by Lemann.

From an urban poverty standpoint, Appalachia is an unexplored region. Researchers studying poverty in the Upland South nearly always focus on the region's high rates of rural poverty (Caudill, 1962; Eller, 1982). Many researchers implicitly equate Appalachian poverty with rural white poverty. In The Underclass, Ken Auletta includes chapters on poverty in the Northeast, Appalachia, and the rural South. The chapter titled "Appalachia: The White Underclass" focuses on seven counties in rural West Virginia (Auletta, 1982). Even research on migration of rural Appalachians to urban areas is based on midwestern cities (Obermiller, 1983; Philliber, 1981). No significant research exists on migration of rural Appalachians to Appalachian cities.

TABLE I-1
CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN AREAS BY REGIONS 1980

	North East	North Central	South	West
Percent persons below poverty level	11.9	10.5	14.4	11.0
Percent persons non-white	16.6	22.3	24.4	19.7
Percent persons foreign born	10.8	4.6	5.2	11.7
Percent persons unemployed 15+ weeks	7.4	6.5	5.6	6.4
Percent housing units built before 1939	42.3	29.1	12.8	14.5

Note: Regions are ones defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983a. 1980 census of the population: Characteristics of the population, general population characteristics, U.S. Summary. Washington: Government Printing Office.
U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983b. 1980 census of the population: Detailed Housing Characteristics, U.S. Summary. Washington: Government Printing Office.

City Size Bias

A second methodological problem in urban poverty research is that most studies are conducted in large cities. Examples encompass much of the research on the location of poor neighborhoods within cities, including the concentric ring (Burgess, Park and McKenzie, 1925), sector (Hoyt, 1939), and social area (Shevky, 1949) theories of urban morphology. Since the Bureau of the Census published its 1985 report "Poverty Areas in Large Cities" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b), many studies on urban poverty have focused on the one hundred largest metropolitan areas. Underclass researchers use large cities as prototypes for defining and measuring the underclass (Gottschalk and Danziger, 1986; Nathan, 1986; Knox, 1988; Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988; Hughes, 1989). Some underclass studies focus solely on Chicago (Lemann, 1986; Wilson 1987).

Morrill and Wohlenberg found that small cities usually have higher poverty rates than large cities (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1971). Small cities often depend on a few factories or businesses for their livelihood. Their economies are more fragile and subject to greater swings in prosperity than those of large cities. Small cities surrounded by rural regions are subject to especially high poverty rates. According to Berry, poverty rates increase with distance from large urban centers. He found that the smaller the urban center and the farther it was from a large city, the higher the poverty rate in the rural area surrounding it (Berry, 1968).

The fact that so many researchers have studied Chicago presents a problem in the applicability of urban poverty studies. Table I-2 compares poor census tracts in Chicago and Knoxville using five variables frequently associated with the underclass. Clearly, poor census tracts in Chicago are more like underclass neighborhoods than poor tracts in Knoxville. Persons living in Chicago's poor census tracts are more likely to be members of female-headed households, unemployed, receiving public assistance, and living in dilapidated housing than persons in poor census tracts in Knoxville. Most striking, residents of Chicago's poor census tracts are much more likely to be black. In Chicago, only 20 percent of the population of poor census tracts is white, while Knoxville's poor census tracts are 70 percent white.

Areal Unit Bias

Scale also hinders the accuracy of urban poverty research. Nearly all intra-urban poverty research is conducted at the census tract level. Examples include most of the work on the black ghetto, social areas, factorial ecology, and quality of life (Murdie 1968; Rose, 1969; Rees, 1970; Smith, 1973; Bederman, 1974), and nearly all of the research on the

TABLE I-2
CHARACTERISTICS OF POOR CENSUS TRACTS
CHICAGO AND KNOXVILLE 1980

	Chicago	Knoxville
Total population of poor census tracts	1,170,721	37,473
Percent persons non-white	79.8	30.9
Percent in female-headed households with children present	26.3	15.7
Percent unemployed	16.1	10.2
Percent receiving public assistance	33.0	21.0
Percent housing units built before 1939	55.2	29.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1985b. Poverty areas in large cities. Washington: Government Printing Office.

geography of the underclass (Gottschalk and Danziger, 1986; Nathan, 1986; Wilson, 1987; Mincy, Sawhill and Wolf, 1990).

Researchers use the census tract as a unit of study because it is the only practical scale for which the Census Bureau publishes data. The Bureau of the Census aggregates data for urbanized areas at three scales: block, block group, and census tract. It publishes data for census tracts and blocks, but blocks are too cumbersome for city-wide research. Block groups are aggregations of blocks (usually about eight blocks), and census tracts are collections of about five block groups. Block group data are available only on computer tape files. An average census tract contains about 4000 persons. An average block group contains about 800 persons (Postma, 1982).

The problem of areal unit bias, in part, stems from the way in which researchers define poor areas. In most poverty studies, researchers use a percentage criterion to identify poor census tracts, usually 20 percent of the population below the poverty line (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b; Hughes, 1989; Mincy, Sawhill and Wolf, 1990). Because census tracts are large, small pockets of poverty within largely middle-class tracts

are masked. An enclave of 700 poor persons would be overlooked in an average census tract of 4000 people.

Census-tract scale analysis of poverty in the urbanized area of Knoxville overlooks many small poor areas. Figure I-1 shows poverty areas as they are defined using both census tracts and block groups as units of analysis. The block group level of analysis adds twenty-two poor block groups (14,150 persons) that would be overlooked if poverty were examined at the census tract level. All of the added block groups are at least two miles from Knoxville's central business district, and five are outside the city limits. The block group method also refines the delineation of poor areas near the central business district. Under the block group method, thirty-one inner-city block groups identified as poor at the census tract level are not poverty areas. Some of these are non-residential areas. Others are more affluent residential enclaves within poor census tracts.

Many of the small pockets of poverty near Knoxville's rural-urban fringe are enclaves of poor whites. Of the twenty-two poor block groups not identified at the census tract level, fifteen have populations that are at least 90 percent white and six have no black residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c). Far from the center city, some of these small pockets of poverty are suburban in character. Many of the dwellings are owner-occupied and sit on lots of 1/2 acre or more. Most dwellings are occupied by two-parent, employed families (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c). Studies conducted at the census tract scale would overlook these poor block groups which are contradictions to research on the characteristics of the underclass.

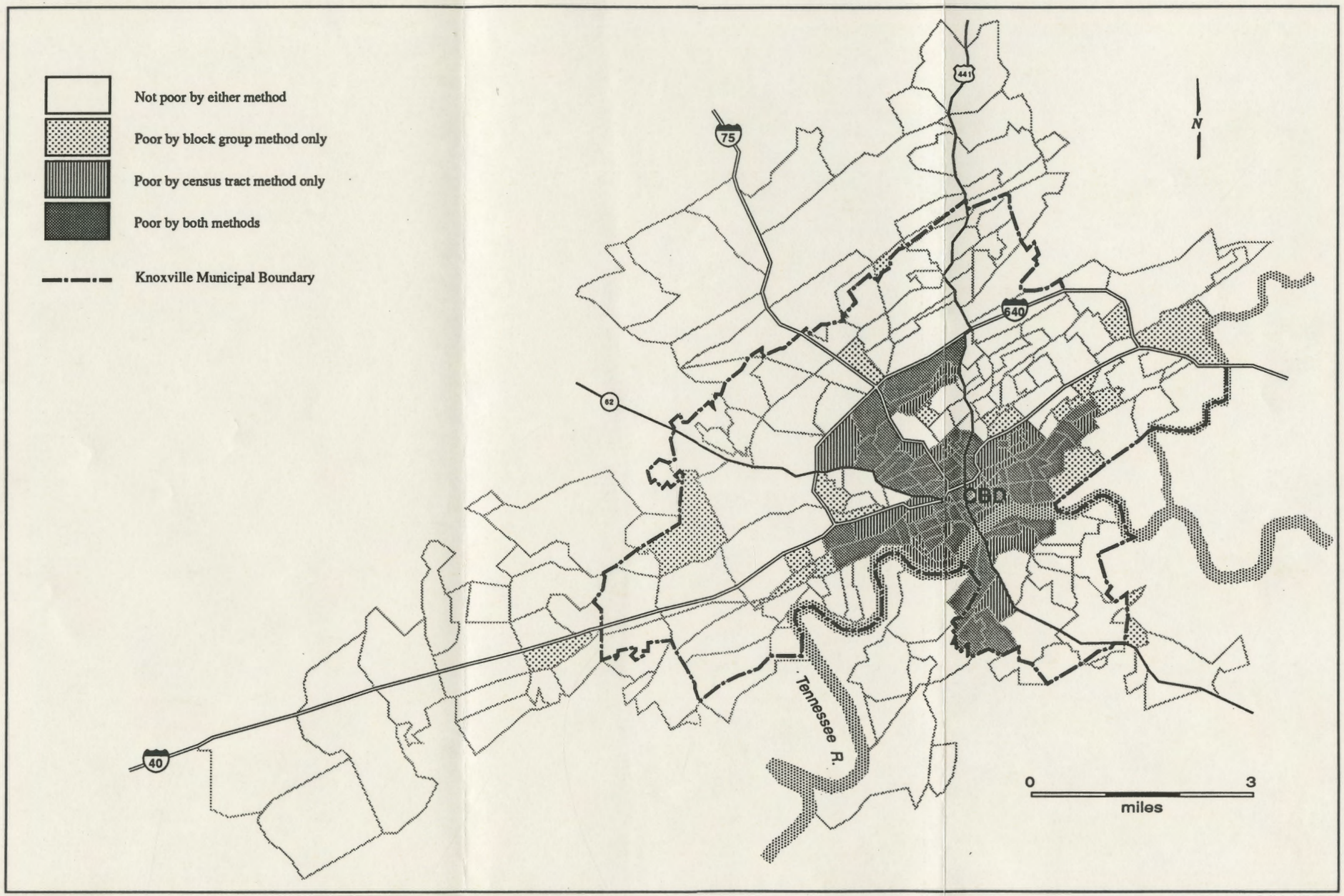


Figure I-1. Poverty areas as defined by census tract and block group methods, 1980.

Topic Bias

Finally, the accuracy of urban poverty studies is limited by researchers' tendencies to focus on the topics and problems associated with urban poverty rather than the actual characteristics of poor neighborhoods. Topics frequently addressed include black and Hispanic ghettos (Morrill, 1965; Rose, 1971; Moore, 1988), female-headed households (Pearce, 1978; McClanahan, 1983; Bane, 1986), unemployment (Barth, 1982; Sheingold, 1982; Stanback and Noyelle, 1982), crime (Ley 1974; Bluestone, 1989; Bourgois, 1989), and homelessness (Dear and Wolch, 1987). Underclass research combines these poverty-related problems under the broad heading of underclass characteristics (Murray, 1984; Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988).

The topical approach is important because it draws attention to the problems of urban poverty, but it is also misleading. While problems may be disproportionately present among the urban poor, they are not characteristic of all residents of poor neighborhoods. For example, nearly all of the urban population that receives public assistance is poor. However, most residents of poor census tracts do not receive public assistance payments. In 1980, less than 27 percent of the residents of poor census tracts in the one hundred largest cities in the United States received Aid to Families with Dependant Children, Supplemental Security Income, or general assistance (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b). Similarly, many of the other traits addressed in urban poverty research apply to relatively small percentages of the urban poor. In 1980, more than half of the residents of poor census tracts were white and members of two-parent families (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b).

B. KNOXVILLE URBANIZED AREA

Knoxville is nestled in the the Ridge and Valley Physiographic Province of the Appalachian Highlands. Located at the point where the French Broad and Holston Rivers join to form the Tennessee, Knoxville is a link in a chain of Ridge and Valley cities. Other cities in the chain include Roanoke and the Bristol-Kingsport-Johnson City connurbation to the north and Chattanooga and Birmingham to the south (Figure I-2). In Knoxville's History: an Interpretation, MacArthur described Knoxville as "both a product and a prisoner of its natural environment" (MacArthur, 1976, 1). Knoxville's Appalachian location furnished it with a wealth of minerals, timber, and natural beauty. It also isolated it from major American cities and supplied it with masses of rural white immigrants.

In 1980, 175,030 people lived in the city of Knoxville and an additional 73,663 were in the contiguous urbanized area of Knox County (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a). Knoxville was the primary city of a four county Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) of 476,517 persons.[2] The Knoxville MSA is the third largest in Tennessee and the ninth largest in the Appalachian region (Raitz and Ulack, 1984). Much of Knoxville's recent population growth has occurred in suburban areas. Between 1970 and 1980 the Knoxville MSA grew 19 percent and the urbanized area increased 13 percent, while the city increased less than one percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972, 1983e). Population in the city of Knoxville declined six percent between 1980 and 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1991).

Throughout much of its history, Knoxville has been a manufacturing city. Although it began as a wholesale center, the city began to industrialize in 1855, when the

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[2] In 1990 the Knoxville MSA was expanded to include seven counties.

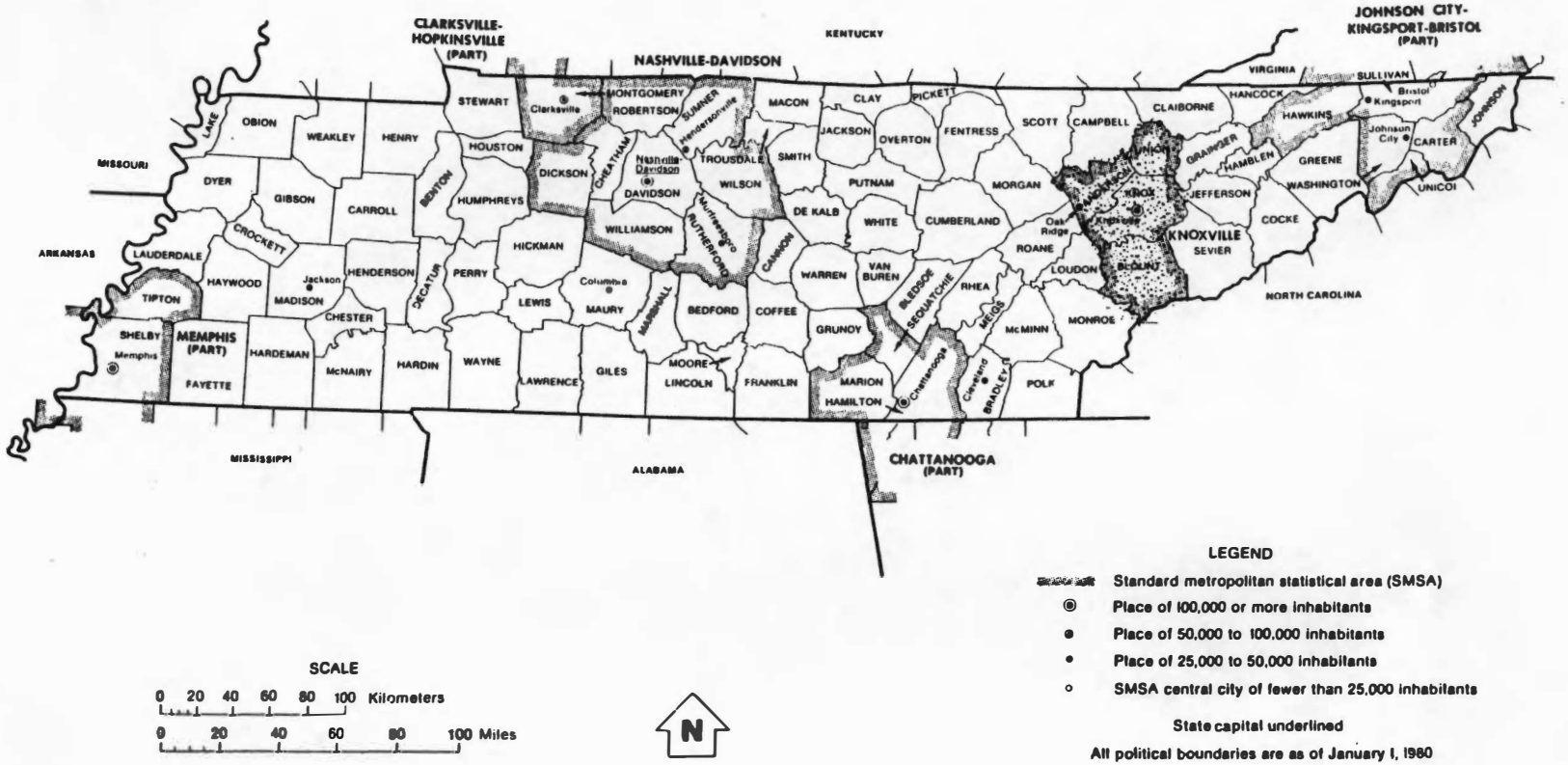


Figure I-2. Tennessee Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1980.

East Tennessee and Georgia Railroad and the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad gave it access to regions to the north and south. Knoxville utilized the labor force of the surrounding region to aid its industrialization. By 1900, the city was home to several textile mills and apparel factories. Together, the two largest textile mills, Brookside Mills and Knoxville Woolen Mills, employed more than 2,100 persons (MacArthur, 1976). Industries which processed the region's rich resources, including lumber mills, furniture factories, and marble plants, were also important (Figure I-3). The Knoxville Iron Company, which relied on the region's coal resources, employed more than 850 persons (Knoxville Chamber of Commerce, 1892).

During its industrialization, Knoxville attracted large numbers of rural Appalachian whites. Between 1880 and 1900, the population of the city increased by more than 237 percent, from 9,693 to 32,637 (Hyde, 1930). In 1900, 75 percent of the persons living in Knoxville were born in Tennessee (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983). In contrast, few blacks flocked to the city for jobs. In 1900, only 22.5 percent of Knoxville's population was black (Hyde, 1930). Because East Tennessee was not a plantation region, few blacks lived in the rural areas surrounding Knoxville. McDonald and Wheeler suggest that blacks who migrated to Knoxville found hostile whites and few jobs that were open to them (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983). During the early part of the twentieth century, most of Knoxville's black labor force worked in iron or machine factories or for railroads.

Appalachian migrants significantly influenced the form and function of Knoxville. In many ways, the characteristics of Knoxville's population are similar to those of the population of the surrounding Appalachian region. Like Appalachia, Knoxville has a predominantly white population, a large elderly and disabled population, and extremely low education levels (Ford, 1962; Raitz and Ulack, 1984). In the Knoxville urbanized area in 1980, more than 86 percent of the population was white, 21 percent was elderly or

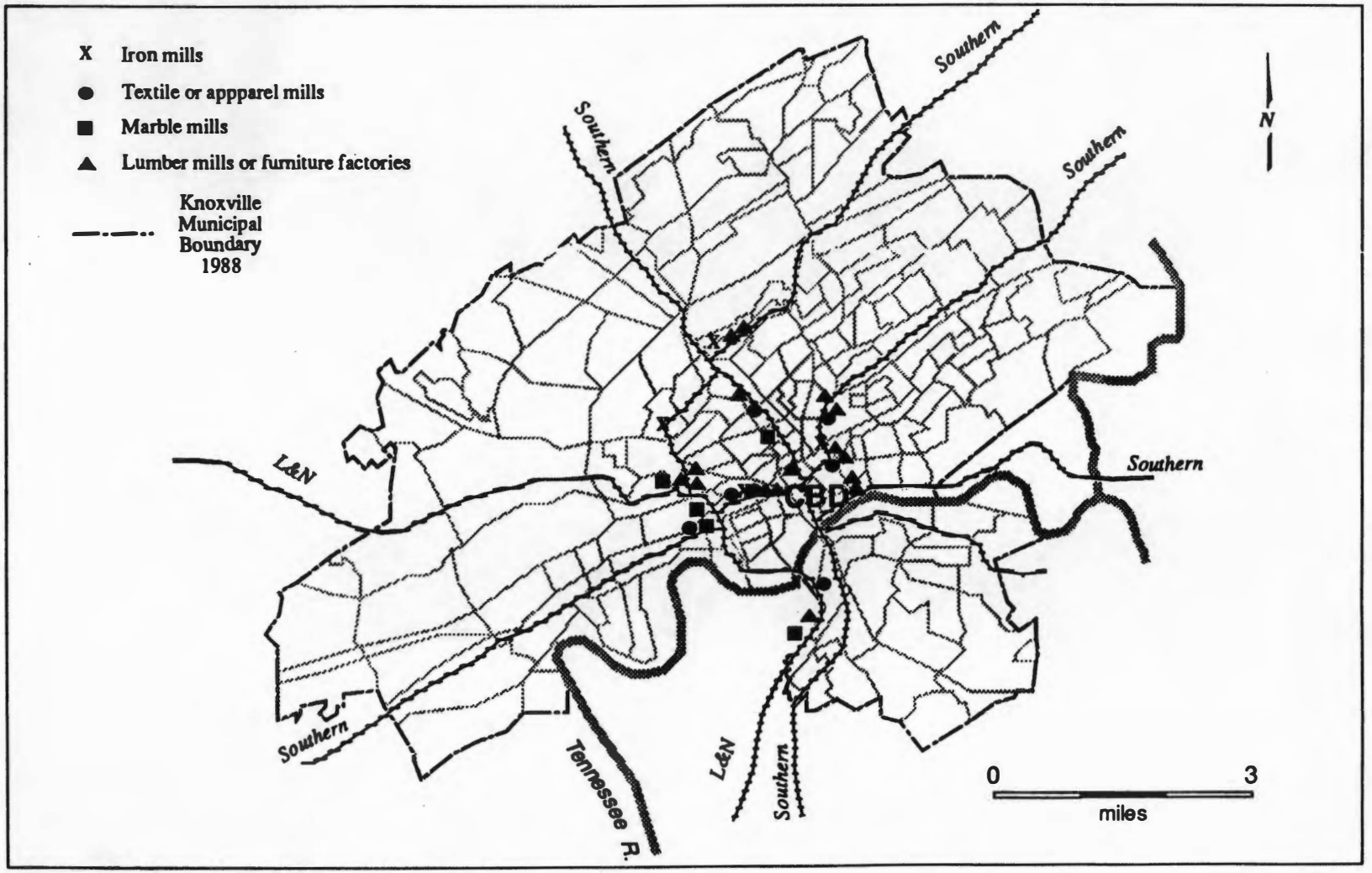


Figure I-3. Selected Knoxville industries, 1917.

disabled, and more than 35 percent of persons 25 and older had not completed high school (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c). These figures are notably higher than the averages for United States urban areas with 79 percent white, 19 percent elderly or disabled, and 70 percent of persons 25 and older having graduated from high school (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983a).

In 1980, 15.4 percent of Knoxville's residents had incomes below the poverty level. While Knoxville's poverty rate is substantially lower than the 18 percent for the Appalachian region (Raitz and Ulack, 1984), it is significantly higher than the average poverty rate of 11.8 for urban areas in the United States. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985a). Large numbers of people in Knoxville are still employed in manufacturing. In 1980, 23 percent of the labor force worked in factories. Many people are employed in the same type of occupations that attracted large numbers of migrants to the city in the late nineteenth century, including apparel production.

Perhaps Knoxville's Appalachian heritage is best reflected in its citizens' attitudes toward progress and change. McDonald and Wheeler suggest that Knoxville is unique among urban areas. They cite the cultural characteristics of rural Appalachian migrants to the city, including "isolation, limited education, self-reliance, community cohesiveness, and kin networks," as important determinants of public policy (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983). Knoxville's urban form is directly attributable to "industrial growth amidst an atmosphere of cultural conservatism, a conservatism designed to provide roots and nurture in an urban environment that was alien to both the white and black mill hands who were drawn to the city" (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983).

C. PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of this thesis is to question extant research on urban poverty by approaching the study of poor neighborhoods from a new perspective. This study is a comprehensive analysis of poor neighborhoods in Knoxville, Tennessee, using the census block group as the areal unit of investigation. The primary hypothesis is that, in contrast to the stereotype underclass neighborhood, Knoxville's poor neighborhoods are predominated by white, employed families living in owner-occupied houses. This hypothesis rests on the presumption that Knoxville's poor neighborhoods differ from those described by underclass researchers because it is an Appalachian city. Knoxville's Appalachian location furnished it with smaller black and Hispanic populations, more labor intensive industries, and a younger housing stock than northeastern and midwestern cities. Moreover, this hypothesis presumes that the existence of some of the cultural traits of rural Appalachia, including self-reliance, a strong emphasis on kinship networks, and negative attitudes toward educational advancement, make Knoxville's poor neighborhoods different from those described by underclass researchers. This study is not an attempt to refute the idea that an urban underclass exists. It is an effort to refine existing underclass research by demonstrating that regional variations in types of poor neighborhoods exist.

I construct my research in a way which ameliorates biases in existing urban poverty studies. This thesis focuses on the Knox County portion of Knoxville's urbanized area (Figure I-4). I used this study area because it provides an alternative to both the regional and city-size biases in extant research. Because Knoxville is located in the primarily rural Appalachian region, it provides a good counterpoint to the research on northeastern and midwestern cities. Knoxville is a medium sized city. It is the 87th largest urbanized area in the United States and has population of 284,708. The population of Knoxville's

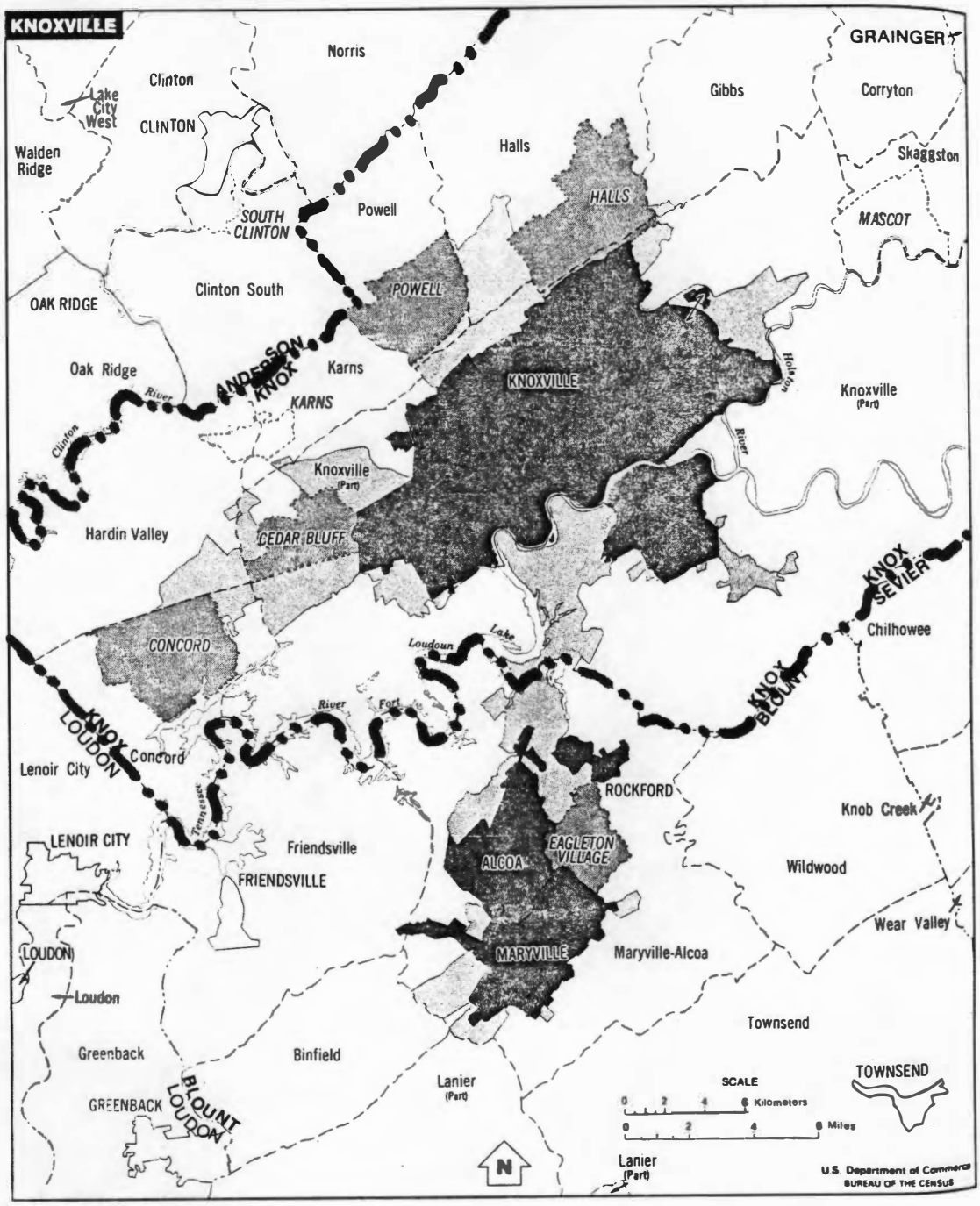


Figure I-4. Knox County portion of the Knoxville urbanized area, 1980.

urbanized area is four percent that of the Chicago urbanized area and less than two percent that of the New York City urbanized area (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984).

I use census block groups as the areal units for the analysis.[3] Preliminary field and cartographic investigations indicate that block groups identify Knoxville's neighborhoods much more accurately than census tracts. Many of Knoxville's neighborhoods are composed of several block groups but are smaller than census tracts and do not coincide with census tract boundaries. Block groups reveal small poverty pockets within affluent census tracts. They also distinguish types of poor within a census tract. Field investigations and examination of block data show that analysis at the block group level does not overlook any significant poverty pockets in Knoxville's urbanized area.

Finally, I construct my research methodology to examine as many aspects of poor neighborhoods as possible. In the tradition of the social ecologists, I explore demographic, economic, and physical characteristics of neighborhoods. Use of a multi-dimensional framework more accurately characterizes the composite picture of neighborhood life. This approach mitigates the topic bias present in other geographic poverty studies. Rather than deciding the characteristics of poor block groups a priori, I employ a wide range of variables that express the probable characteristics of urban poverty. I allow the methodology to indicate which phenomena are coincident with poverty and in which block groups.

This thesis proceeds in three phases. The first phase establishes the basis for this study. In this phase, I review trends in urban poverty and underclass research. From that

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[3] Because block groups are rarely used as units of investigation, this thesis required the creation of a block group map of the Knoxville urbanized area (Figure I-1). This map was made using existing block maps of the Knoxville MSA. Block groups were outlined on a Knox County map. Block groups were plotted as closed polygons on an x-y coordinate grid. Polygon coordinates were entered into Mapmaker, a software package designed to produce maps from coordinate data.

review, I distill a list of characteristics of the underclass that serves as a framework for examining poor neighborhoods. Then, using census statistics, I compare the characteristics of Knoxville's poverty areas with those of the one hundred largest cities in the United States.

Phase two is a case study of Knoxville. Its purpose is to identify and analyze the types of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area. The locations of poor block groups are mapped. Using cluster analysis, poor block groups are classified on the basis of variables selected in phase one. Types of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area are compared with underclass neighborhoods. Field investigations, historic accounts, and interviews are employed to verify and interpret cluster analysis results.

The results of phase two show that characteristics associated with underclass neighborhoods are found only in a small portion of Knoxville's poor block groups. Moreover, they indicate that a large percentage of Knoxville's poor block groups are composed of employed white families who live in owner-occupied dwellings, a type of poverty that is virtually unstudied in existing urban poverty research. Phase three is a detailed examination of three white owner-occupied block groups. I examine origin of the neighborhoods, the people who settled them, and the way the areas changed over time. Using a questionnaire, I interviewed occupants of twenty dwellings in each block group. In addition to the interviews, interpretation of the block groups is based on additional field investigations and census block data.

CHAPTER II

TRENDS IN URBAN POVERTY AND RESEARCH ON THE URBAN UNDERCLASS

The urban underclass was the predominant theme in urban poverty research in the 1980s. It transcended the fields of political science, psychology, sociology, journalism, and geography. In the past fifteen years, the urban underclass and underclass neighborhoods have been discussed in academic circles and popular media. They have been the subject of several conferences, two best selling books, and articles in The Atlantic Monthly, Science, and the New York Times.

No clear definition of the underclass exists. Researchers disagree on whether the underclass should be defined by long-term poverty (Levy, 1977), poverty and race (Nathan, 1986), concentrated social deviance (Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988; Hughes, 1989), race and social deviance (Murray, 1984), or concentrated poverty (Gottschalk and Danziger, 1986; Sawhill, 1987). Researchers also disagree on the origin of the underclass. Liberals see the existence of the underclass as proof that supply-side economics is ineffective in helping the poorest of the poor. Conservatives believe it proves that a deeply entrenched culture of poverty makes it impossible to help some groups of the poor.

Nevertheless, studies on the urban underclass represent academia's most recent attempt to understand the characteristics of poor urban neighborhoods. Different sub-trends within underclass research are united by the theme that the problem of the urban underclass is serious, multivariate and spatial. Although nearly every underclass researcher has defined the underclass differently, all research on the urban underclass attempts to prove and quantify that the underclass is a group plagued by many social and environmental problems in addition to poverty. Underclass researchers also agree that the

underclass has spatial dimensions. Hughes called the recent flurry of research on the urban underclass "the underclass consensus:"

> The underclass literature is diverse. Yet it shares an untested empirical consensus about the existence of a group identifiable by behavior that deviates from social norms; this consensus is what distinguishes it from the more conventional poverty literature. Part of this consensus, although often implicit, is that this behavioral deviance is geographically concentrated in particular neighborhoods (Hughes, 1989, 275).

The purpose of this chapter is to identify a list of characteristics of the underclass that provides a framework for comparing poor areas in Knoxville with other poor areas in the United States. First, I review trends in urban poverty in the United States from 1975 to the present. Next, I describe eleven of the most significant works of underclass research, outlining the way each characterizes underclass neighborhoods. I examine the previous urban poverty research which influenced the development of the underclass consensus and highlight significant poverty research that disputes it. From these reviews of extant underclass research, I develop a list of frequently-cited characteristics of underclass neighborhoods. I use this list to select census variables to compare poor census tracts in the one hundred largest cities in the United States with those of Knoxville.[1]

A. THE IMPETUS FOR UNDERCLASS RESEARCH

Between 1975 and 1983, the percentage of persons below poverty level in the United States increased from 11.2 percent to 15.2 percent. This increase signified a dramatic change in progress of the War on Poverty. Prior to 1975, the poverty rate had

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[1] At this level of analysis, I use census tract statistics. I was unable to access block group data at the national level.

been declining since 1959. Between 1959[2] and 1974 the overall poverty rate dropped in half, from 22.4 percent to 11.2 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987). Between 1975 and 1983, poverty rates increased in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas but rose rapidly in center cities. By 1982, center city poverty rates were at an unprecedented high of 19.9 percent. Increases were most dramatic in the Midwest,[3] which traditionally had lower poverty rates than the other regions of the United States. Between 1975 and 1983 poverty in the Midwest increased by 33 percent from 9.7 to 14.6 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985a). Much of this increase was in urban areas, with poverty rates increasing dramatically in Detroit, Cleveland, and Chicago (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b). Poverty rates were highest in the South[4] at 17.2 percent. However, in contrast to other regions, poverty actually decreased in the South between 1975 and 1983 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985a).

The urban poor also became more spatially concentrated. The Bureau of the Census defines a poor census tract as any tract in which at least 20 percent of the population is below the poverty line. Between 1975 and 1983 the percentage of poor persons living in poor census tracts increased from 34.9 percent to 43.8 percent. Both poor whites and poor blacks became more spatially concentrated. The poverty rate among whites in poor census tracts increased from 29.8 percent in 1975 to 36.2 percent in 1983. Among blacks, poverty rates in poor census tracts increased from 39.6 percent to 49.7

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2 Poverty figures are available for 1959 to the present. Although the poverty line was not established until 1964, the Bureau of the Census estimated poverty rates for 1959-1964.

3 The census definition of the Midwest includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

4 The census definition of the South includes Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985a). By 1980, nearly two thirds (65.9%) of all black persons in the one hundred largest cities lived in poor census tracts (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b).

Many researchers attribute the significant increases in poverty during the early 1980s to the combined effects of a recessed economy and severe cuts in social spending. Between 1980 and 1984 poverty spending as a portion of Gross National Product decreased drastically. The Reagan Administration embraced a triage approach to urban poverty. That philosophy assumed that all poverty could not be eliminated and rationalized helping those who could most easily be lifted out of poverty (Danziger and Weinberg, 1986). In the early 1980s, funds for helping the poorest of the poor were cut, while those for helping the "undeserving" or "temporary" poor remained in tact. Most social spending cuts were in means-tested programs, those specifically designed to aid the long-term poor, including Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Funding actually increased for certain social programs, including Social Security, Medicare, and disability and unemployment insurance programs aimed at abetting short term poverty and poverty among the elderly and disabled (Nathan, 1983).

In the early 1980s, poverty rates grew rapidly among those groups affected by the budget cuts. Female-headed households in poverty grew faster than any other group. Between 1979 and 1983, the percent of female-headed families below the poverty line increased from 39.6 percent to 47.8 percent. Poverty among black female-headed families reached an all time high of 63.7 percent in 1982 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987). Poor female-headed households were more likely to live in poor census tracts than poor persons in general. In 1980, nearly three fourths (72.5%) of poor female-headed families in the one hundred largest cities lived in poor census tracts (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b).

Poverty rates for blacks have traditionally been about twenty percentage points higher than those for whites. In 1983, 35.7 percent of all black persons had incomes below the poverty level (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987). Like the overall poverty rate, the years between 1975 and 1983 showed marked increases in black poverty. The black poverty rate continually declined from 1959 through 1974, but in 1983 it was the highest it had been since 1967 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985a).

B. UNDERCLASS RESEARCH

Between 1975 and 1990 more than twenty researchers published definitions of the underclass. Frank Levy was the first to develop an empirical measurement of the underclass. In 1977, he published "How Big is the Urban Underclass?," a working paper that outlined his perception of trends in urban poverty. He postulated that poverty becomes a severe problem when persons are unable to transcend it within a few years and estimated that much of the poor population (about 55%) is only temporarily poor. Levy proposed a persistence-based definition which described the underclass as those persons whose poverty lasts more than five years (Levy, 1977). By Levy's method, underclass neighborhoods are those predominated by the long-term poor.

In 1982, journalist Ken Auletta offered a more descriptive and behaviorally-based definition of the underclass. His acclaimed book, The Underclass, described his experiences with the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MRDC), a Manhattan based job-counseling organization. Auletta's perception of the underclass was based largely on his work with program clients whom he called "long term welfare recipients, drifters, street criminals, school dropouts, drug addicts, and relatively non-violent hustlers" (Auletta, 1982, xiv). Auletta agreed with Levy's idea that the underclass

suffers from long term poverty, and he portrayed the underclass as a group with a common set of characteristics:

> I quickly learned that among students of poverty there is little disagreement that a fairly distinct black and white underclass does exist, that this underclass generally feels excluded from society, rejects commonly accepted values, and suffers from behavioral as well as income deficiencies (Auletta, 1982, xiii).

Auletta is the only underclass researcher to explicitly state that the underclass is composed of both black and white persons. He postulated that underclass behaviors vary over space and that there are significant differences between the rural and the urban underclasses. He found that while both are poor, the rural underclass is less likely to be members of single-parent families, to rely on underground sources of income, and to commit violent crimes. He suggested that one of the factors mitigating social deviance in the rural underclass is a sense of community in which the poor are content with their lives, know most of the people in their community, and are likely to receive credit from local shopkeepers (Auletta, 1982, 197).

In 1982, the National Research Council Committee on National Urban Policy set an agenda for urban studies research. The committee commissioned two veterans in urban poverty research to prescribe a framework for analyzing urban poverty in the 1980s. Kenneth Clark, a psychologist known for his work on the black ghetto (Clark, 1965), and Richard Nathan, a political scientist studying the relationship between federal budget cuts and poverty rates, prescribed a framework that combined the persistence-based approach advocated by Levy and the behaviorally-based approach described by Auletta. They concluded that "there is general agreement that underclass status is not simply a function of low income. The people in the group generally lack education, experience in the labor market, literacy skills, mobility options, and stable family relationships" (Clark and Nathan, 1982, 35).

Two years later, Charles Murray wrote Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-1980. Murray never referred to his book as an attempt to characterize the underclass, but his work was so influential and so in harmony with the themes and methods of underclass research that it must be mentioned. Murray had a strong ideological agenda: to prove that increased government spending on programs for the poor increased the number of chronically poor. In order to justify his arguments, he examined the same trends in urban poverty that other underclass researchers had, especially concurrent increases in welfare dependency, poverty levels, female headship, and unemployment. Murray was the first researcher to develop a race-specific definition of the underclass. The chapter in which he presents his statistical arguments, "Being Poor, Being Black: 1950-1980," includes sections on declining education levels and increasing rates of unemployment, poverty, crime, female headship, and welfare dependency among urban blacks. In his concluding chapter, he states, "We have a black underclass" (Murray, 1984, 222).

In 1986 journalist Nicholas Lemann published a two-part article in The Atlantic Monthly titled "The Origins of the Underclass." Arguably the most-read piece of research on the underclass, Lemann's work was the product of several years of investigation in poor neighborhoods of Chicago, especially North Lawndale in the southwest part of the city and the Robert Taylor Homes housing project between Forty-seventh and Fifty-first streets. Lemann's unique contribution to the body of underclass research is his vivid description of underclass neighborhood landscapes. He described environments of blight bearing scars of high crime rates, abandonment, and despair. His narration of a drive through North Lawndale is typical:

> Douglas Park was empty, denuded of shrubbery, with stern curfew signs posted; Lawndale Oldsmobile, once the biggest commercial establishment in the neighborhood, was shut down. Of the businesses a few blocks away, two were torn down and one had become a church. Everything that remained, even the churches, was protected by heavy steel mesh, and odd symbols (a six pointed star, crossed pitchforks) were spray painted everywhere.

> We turned onto South Drake and pulled up to the house, number 1643.... Only about two thirds of the block appeared to be occupied. The rest of the houses were either abandoned or demolished. Sixteen forty-three was a classic Chicago two-flat; 1642, across the street, a three-flat was one-third empty; 1625, 1649, 1652 and 1655 were missing entirely.... Down on the corner the grocery store was barred as if against an armored division. The cross street, Sixteenth, had become the hustling, dealing, and hanging-out part of the neighborhood, with the action centering on a window-less "game room," which was several months later exposed by the Tribune as a drug exchange and then closed down by the city (Lemann, 1986, 36-37).

Lemann's work is implicitly geographic. He believed that the underclass is those persons left behind in inner city black ghettoes. He suggested that the underclass is the result of two stages of black migration: immigration of blacks from the rural South to northern industrial areas and more recent movement of middle-class blacks from inner city ghetto neighborhoods. Lemann thought that the environment of concentrated poverty in underclass neighborhoods fostered a unique and destructive culture with a lack of positive role models and void of examples of hope and opportunity. He argued, that "In ghettos it appears that the distinctive culture is the greatest barrier to progress by the black underclass, rather than either unemployment or welfare" (Lemann, 1986, 35). Lemann suggested that high rates of female headship, low levels of education, and school dropout rates of more than 50 percent are characteristic of underclass neighborhoods.

During 1986, three studies presented new empirical methods for defining the underclass. Gottschalk and Danziger were the first to employ a geographic measurement. They suggested that the underclass consists of persons living in census tracts with 40 percent or more of the population poor in the one hundred largest metropolitan areas (Gottschalk and Danziger, 1986). Nathan, who earlier had defined the underclass in terms of behavior, advocated a geographic and racial quantification of the underclass. His new approach defined the underclass as black and Hispanic poor living in census tracts with poverty rates of 20 percent or more in the one hundred largest metropolitan areas (Nathan,

1986). Ruggles and Marton revived Levy's concept of the underclass as the persistently poor but altered it to exclude the elderly and disabled (Ruggles and Marton, 1986).

William J. Wilson vehemently stressed that the idea of an urban underclass is a geographic one. In The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy (1987), Wilson focused on Chicago census tracts with poverty rates of 20 percent or higher. He outlined a cultural argument for using a geographic definition:

> The underclass is the groups that have been collectively left behind.... although they are not all street criminals, unwed mothers, welfare recipients, etc., they live and interact in the same depressed community and are part of the population that has .... become increasingly isolated socially from mainstream patterns and norms of behavior (Wilson, 1987, 8).

Wilson's work is similar to Lemann's in its portrayal of the characteristics of the underclass. Like Lemann, Wilson believed the underclass is the result of the migration of upper- and middle-class blacks out of urban neighborhoods and that the underclass is purely a black phenomenon. According to Wilson, "whereas poor blacks are frequently found in isolated, poor urban neighborhoods, poor whites rarely live in such neighborhoods" (Wilson, 1987, 58). He listed long term poverty, welfare dependency, crime, unemployment, and lack of education as characteristics of underclass neighborhoods and suggested that the state of the economy, especially the lack of jobs for black males, has dissolved the black family and perpetuated the underclass cycle. Although Wilson did not describe the landscape of poor neighborhoods, he wrote that inner city areas exhibit a dangerous anonymity and lack of sense of community.

In 1987 the Urban Institute focused its attention on defining and measuring the underclass. Isabel Sawhill wrote Anti-poverty Strategies for the 1980s, which like Gottschalk's and Danziger's study, suggested that the underclass consists of persons living in census tracts in which 40 percent and more of the population is below the poverty level. One year later, Sawhill and Ricketts realigned that theory to suggest that the underclass

should be defined by simultaneous occurrence of those phenomena that other researchers, especially Auletta, Clark and Nathan and Wilson, had suggested were characteristic of the underclass. They advocated an approach which defined the underclass as persons in census tracts in the one hundred largest MSA's in which the percentages of female-headed households, high school dropouts, households with public assistance, and males unemployed more than 26 weeks were more than one standard deviation above the norm for metropolitan census tracts. Ricketts and Sawhill thought that census tracts in which 40 percent and more of the population is below the poverty level are much more likely to have the behavioral characteristics associated with the underclass than census tracts in which 20-39 percent of the population is poor (Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988).

C. ROOTS OF THE UNDERCLASS CONSENSUS

Some of the earliest roots of the underclass consensus are evident in the "culture of poverty" debate of the late 1960s. Both the underclass consensus and the culture of poverty thesis suggest that many phenomena occur commensurate with poverty and perpetuate the poverty cycle. Oscar Lewis, who coined the phrase "culture of poverty," thought that a long list of traits were characteristic of poverty. In addition to the traits common in underclass research, such as high rates of female headship, unemployment, and low education levels, Lewis suggested that the poor are burdened with a lifestyle that includes crowded quarters, lack of privacy, high incidence of alcoholism, physical violence in child training, emphasis on family solidarity, male authoritarianism, and fatalism (Lewis, 1968).

Roots of the underclass consensus are also evident in the body of research on the black ghetto. Like underclass research, black ghetto studies focus on poor black

neighborhoods and the influence that neighborhood environments have on their residents. The early works on the decline of black families were very similar to underclass research. Moynihan's The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (1965), Rainwater's "Crucible of Identity: the Negro Lower-class Family" (1966), and Clark's The Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (1965), are examples of early works that described urban blacks, family dissolution, and poverty.

Geographer's descriptions of the physical environment of black ghettoes also foreshadowed the development of the underclass consensus. Rose found that most black ghetto residents were not homeowners and that the commercial areas of black ghettos had high crime rates and many black-owned businesses with barred windows (Rose, 1971). Bunge painted an exploitive picture of the black ghetto. In his case study of the Fitzgerald section of northwest Detroit, he suggested that whites exploit the poor by charging exorbitant rents and using urban renewal to destroy neighborhoods (Bunge, 1971). Deskins' work in Detroit found that the suburbanization of work places was detrimental to blacks who maintained inner city residencies (Deskins', 1969). In his study of a Philadelphia ghetto community, Ley found much internal conflict. He described the ghetto as space where individual survival is placed above community cohesiveness and where gang activity and graffiti-defined territories are common (Ley, 1974).

The cause-oriented poverty research of the late 1970s and early 1980s also presaged the development of the underclass consensus. McClanahan's "Family Structure and the Reproduction of Poverty" (1983) and Ross and Sawhill's Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women (1975) explored the feminization of poverty. Garfinkle and Orr's "Welfare Policy and Employment Rate of AFDC mothers" (1974), Honig's "AFDC Income Recipient Rates and Family Dissolution" (1974), and Ellwood and Bane's "The Impact of AFDC on Family Structure and Living Arrangements" (1984) examined the links

between female headship and welfare dependency. Kasarda's work emphasized the role of economic restructuring, the loss of manufacturing jobs, and the movement of work places to the suburbs in perpetuating poverty among inner city residents. Like Deskins, Kasarda also emphasized the importance of transportation problems for poor inner city residents. He found that more than half of the minority households in Philadelphia and Boston are without a means of personal transportation (Kasarda, 1983).

D. RESEARCHERS WHO QUESTIONED THE UNDERCLASS CONSENSUS

Between 1987 and 1990 several researchers have questioned the underclass consensus. Sociologist Christopher Jencks expressed concern that underclass research tries to amass too many characteristics under one heading. He suggested that such an approach creates the notion that all aspects of poor black communities are deteriorating, when actually "some things have gotten better and some have gotten worse" (Raymond, 1989). Jencks concurred that illegitimate births have increased among poor blacks and joblessness has been steadily rising. However, he found that education levels have risen and violent crimes have decreased (Raymond, 1989).

Herbert Gans is a perpetual critic of the stereotype of black poverty. In 1962, he achieved notoriety for The Urban Villagers, a descriptive essay on white ethnic communities in Boston. Gans developed a two-part typology which classified poor urban neighborhoods as "urban villages" and "urban jungles". He thought that, while both were blighted, the urban village was largely residential and had a normal age structure and a strong sense of community. Conversely, the urban jungle had an abnormal age structure, diverse land uses, and no strong neighborhood functions (Gans, 1962). More recently, Gans questioned the validity of behavior-based definitions of the underclass. He is

currently writing a study on the definition of the underclass and the ideological agendas of researchers who define it (Raymond, 1989).

Paul Knox suggests that there may be inter-city variations in the underclass. He devised a typology that uses cluster analysis to categorize the one hundred largest United States cities, based on census variables frequently associated with the group. Knox showed that only one-fifth of the one hundred largest cities are predominated by characteristics frequently associated with the "new ghettoized underclass." He characterized Knoxville's poverty as "white ghettoized" (Knox, 1988).

Joseph Howell's work in a suburb of Washington, D.C. emphasized that not all residents of working class neighborhoods are second generation immigrants from Europe or black. His ethnography Hard Living on Clay Street is a portrait of a neighborhood predominated by migrants from the rural South and Appalachia. According to Howell, many of the residents of Clay street are underemployed whites with stressed family relationships, a fierce sense of independence, an abhorrence of public assistance, and a strong reliance on alcohol (Howell, 1973).

The body of literature on the migration of rural Appalachians to midwestern urban areas also provides an alternative to the underclass consensus. This literature discusses enclaves of transplanted rural Appalachian whites in midwestern cities. Fowler found that rural Appalachian migrants usually settled in low-income areas near the central business district (Fowler, 1981). Adams found that rural migrants to Cincinnati initially moved into low-income neighborhoods but usually moved to higher-income ones as they became more affluent (Adams, 1971).

Early work described urban Appalachians as a unique group. Griffen's 1956 study of rural Appalachians in Cincinnati found that neighborhoods were characterized by extended kinship systems, overcrowding, lack of formal organizations, religious

fundamentalism, a reluctance to use health care facilities, low education levels, and high dropout rates (Griffen, 1956). Later work suggested that most Appalachian migrants were not much different than the rest of the urban population. Schwarzweller found that most Appalachians advanced in jobs and that education and kinship systems helped them to assimilate financially and emotionally (Schwarzweller, 1981). Long postulated that Appalachians migrated to midwestern cities for better welfare benefits (Long, 1974), but Peterson, Sharp, and Drury discovered that few of Cleveland's Appalachian migrants use public assistance (Peterson, Sharp and Drury, 1977). Philliber found that as kinship ties diminish, Appalachian migrants rely more on welfare, especially unemployment compensation (Philliber, 1981). Like Schwarzweller, he also discovered that Appalachians have blended into the urban fabric of midwestern cities.

E. A FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING POOR NEIGHBORHOODS

Review of extant underclass and urban poverty research shows that the underclass consensus has built upon existing urban poverty research and is continually attracting adherents from a wide variety of disciplines. Although Jencks, Gans, and Knox question the applicability of the underclass consensus, the predominant theme in urban poverty research in the 1980s is that poor neighborhoods are increasingly dominated by poverty-related social ills. In spite of disagreement on the definition of underclass neighborhoods, the composite body of underclass research suggests at least seventeen characteristics typical of underclass neighborhoods (Table II-1).

The most common theme in underclass research is that poor neighborhoods are increasingly populated by black female-headed families on welfare. Most underclass research, except Auletta's, states that underclass neighborhoods are non-white. Some

TABLE II-1
CHARACTERISTICS OF UNDERCLASS NEIGHBORHOODS

Characteristic	References
% Persons non-white	Murray (1984), Lemann (1986), Nathan (1986), Wilson (1987).
% Households with children present headed by females	Auletta (1982), Clark and Nathan (1982), Murray, Lemann, Wilson, Ricketts and Sawhill (1988) Lewis (1966), Knox (1982)
% Persons under 18	Gans (1962).
% Persons 65 and older	Ruggles and Marton (1986), Knox, Gans.
% Persons 16-64 with work-preventing disabilities	Ruggles and Marton.
% Persons 16-19 not in high school and not high school graduates	Auletta, Clark and Nathan, Murray, Lemann, Wilson, Ricketts and Sawhill, Knox.
% Persons 25+ high school graduates	Clark and Nathan, Murray, Lemann, Wilson, Lewis, Knox.
% Persons below poverty line	Levy (1977), Auletta, Clark and Nathan, Murray, Lemann, Ruggles and Marton (1986), Nathan, Gottschalk and Danziger (1986), Sawhill (1987), Wilson, Knox.
% Persons 16+ unemployed 15 or more weeks	Auletta, Murray, Lemann, Wilson, Ricketts and Sawhill, Lewis, Knox.
% Households receiving public assistance	Auletta, Murray, Lemann, Gottschalk and Danziger, Wilson, Ricketts and Sawhill.
% Housing units owner-occupied	Knox, Lemann.
% Persons 5+ living in same house since 1975	Knox.
% Year-round housing units vacant	Lemann.
% Year-round housing units with more than 1.0 person per room	Auletta, Lemann, Lewis, Knox.
% Year-round housing units with incomplete plumbing	Gans, Lewis.
% Year-round housing units built before 1939	Gans, Lemann.
% Occupied housing units with no motor vehicle available	Kasarda (1980), Deskins (1969), Clark and Nathan.

researchers, including Murray, Lemann, and Wilson, believe that underclass neighborhoods are black by definition. Others more subtly suggest that underclass neighborhoods are primarily non-white. Eight of the eleven underclass studies discussed in this chapter cite high rates of female-headship and six cite high percentages of persons receiving public assistance as definitive characteristics of underclass neighborhoods. In this study, "percent of persons non-white" is used to measure the racial composition of poor areas,[5] "percent of households with children present headed by females" is used to measure levels of family dissolution, and "percent of households receiving public assistance" is used to indicate welfare dependency.

A second common theme in underclass research is the idea that residents of poor neighborhoods are increasingly plagued by chronic unemployment. Seven of the eleven underclass studies discussed specify that the underclass is usually unemployed for long periods of time. Many underclass researchers argue that long-term unemployment perpetuates poverty in underclass neighborhoods, in part, because the environment of the neighborhoods creates lax attitudes toward employment. "Percent of persons age 16 and older that was unemployed 15 or more weeks in 1979" will be used in this study to indicate severity of unemployment in poor areas.

Many persons in underclass neighborhoods have extremely low education levels, and many children between ages 16 and 19 drop out of high school. Underclass research suggests that the environment of underclass neighborhoods fosters lax attitudes toward education and that economic pressures preclude many teenagers from completing high school. Rickets and Sawhill believe that a high drop out rate is one of the four defining characteristics of underclass neighborhoods. In this study, "percent of persons 16-19 not

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[5] In Knoxville, the non-white population is composed almost entirely of blacks.

in high school and not high school graduates" and "percent of persons 25 and older who are high school graduates" are used to measure education levels. "Percent of persons 16-19 not in high school and not high school graduates" is a measure of attitudes toward education in poor areas. "Percent of persons 25 and older who are high school graduates" provides insight into the education levels of the workforce.

A more implicit theme in underclass research is that the physical environments of underclass neighborhoods are blighted. Very few underclass researchers define underclass neighborhoods by landscape characteristics, but most suggest that the landscapes of urban underclass neighborhoods are marred by depressed commercial areas (Auletta, 1982), lack of commitment to neighborhood space (Lemann, 1986), deteriorated housing (Rose, 1972), and isolation from the greater urbanized area (Deskins, 1969; Kasarda, 1983). In this study, I use "percent of housing units owner-occupied" and "percent of persons living in the same house since 1975" to indicate resident attachment to neighborhood space. I measure neighborhood decline with "percent of year-round housing units vacant". I employ "percent of year-round housing units with more than 1.0 person per room," "percent of year-round housing units with incomplete plumbing," and "percent of year-round housing units built before 1939" to indicate crowding, deterioration, and age of housing stock. I use "percent of occupied housing units with no motor vehicle available" to measure isolation in poor neighborhoods.

Ruggles and Marton define the underclass as the long-term poor who are not elderly or disabled. They believe that underclass neighborhoods have high unemployment rates not attributable to physical illness or age. In this study, "percent persons under 18," "percent persons 65 and older," and "percent persons 16-64 with work-preventing disabilities" are used to measure the population not participating in the workforce.

Finally, while most underclass researchers implicitly define the underclass as poor, several use baseline percentages of poor persons to define underclass neighborhoods. Nathan (1986) and Wilson (1987) define underclass neighborhoods as census tracts in which at least 20 percent of the population is poor. Gottschalk and Danziger (1986) and Sawhill (1987) define them as census tracts in which at least 40 percent is poor. To facilitate comparison with all existing research, this study uses 20 rather than 40 percent. In this study, "Percent of persons below the poverty line" is used to express degree of concentration of the poor in poor areas.

Table II-2 compares characteristics of poor census tracts in the one hundred largest cities in the United States with those of Knoxville. This table shows that the average Knoxville poverty census tract has more poor persons (38.1%) than the average urban poverty census tract (33.5%). However, Knoxville's average poverty census tract deviates from the consensus in certain characteristics that are fundamental to it- race, family structure, and welfare dependency. Residents of Knoxville's average tract are less likely to be unemployed. Vacancy rates are lower, more residents own their homes, and housing units are younger and less likely to be crowded.

F. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter demonstrates that the idea of an urban underclass is based on national trends in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It was a response to increases in poverty, female headship, welfare dependency, especially rapid increases of these traits among urban blacks and Hispanics, and the concentration of these traits in poor neighborhoods. Most researchers attempted to quantify these increases by examining national trends, usually focusing on poor census tracts in large urban areas. Those that studied individual cities,

TABLE II-2
1980 POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
UNITED STATES AND KNOXVILLE
CENTER CITY POVERTY AREAS

Variable	Census Tracts 20+% Poor 100 Largest Cities	Census Tracts 20+% Poor Knoxville
% Persons non-white	65.7	30.9
% Households with children present headed by females	21.5	15.7
% Persons under 18	23.6	23.6
% Persons 65 and older	10.4	13.9
% Persons 16-64 with work-preventing disabilities[a]	-	-
% Persons 16-19 not in high school and not high school graduates[b]	54.1	52.7
% Persons 25+ high school graduates	47.0	47.1
% Persons below poverty line	33.5	38.1
% Persons 16+ unemployed 15 or more weeks[c]	12.3	10.2
% Households receiving public assistance[d]	26.7	21.0
% Housing units owner-occupied	29.3	31.4
% Persons 5+ living in same house since 1975[a]	-	-
% Year-round housing units vacant	10.0	7.8
% Year-round housing units with more than 1.0 person per room	11.1	4.6
% Year-round housing units with incomplete plumbing	3.4	4.0
% Year-round housing units built before 1939	45.5	29.1
% Occupied housing units with no motor vehicle available[a]	-	-

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1985b. Poverty areas in large cities. Washington: Government Printing Office.

Notes:

[a] Statistics are not published at the census tract level.

[b] Universe was persons 16-21 years of age, not 16-19 years of age.

[c] Statistic is total unemployment, not unemployed 15 or more weeks.

[d] Universe was families, not households.

including Lemann and Wilson, focused on Chicago and other large cities that had experienced dramatic increases in the traits.

This chapter also shows that the few researchers who chose to dissect the underclass consensus found that it was too broad-based. Jencks thought that it was too broad from a theoretical perspective, attempting to encompass too many social ills under one heading. Knox found that the underclass consensus was too broad from a geographic perspective. According to him, underclass ideas based on national statistics are not applicable in many cities.

Statistics on poor census tracts in Knoxville bring into question the applicability of the underclass consensus. As a group, Knoxville's poor census tracts are less like the underclass consensus than the average poor urban census tract in the United States. More important, most of Knoxville's poor census tracts are not like those described in underclass research. On the average, 69 percent of the residents of poor census tracts are white, 78 percent are members of two-parent families, and 90 percent are employed. Only 21 percent receive public assistance (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1985b).

Diversity of types of poor neighborhoods in Knoxville suggests that even inter-urban studies like Knox's may gloss over the true nature of its poor neighborhoods. Poor neighborhoods south of the Tennessee River are mostly white, owner-occupied areas populated by two-parent families. Poor neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city are occupied primarily by black families who own their own homes. Poor neighborhoods northwest of the central business district have many of the characteristics frequently associated with the underclass, including high rates of female headship, renter occupancy, and welfare dependency. Such intra-city diversity necessitates a microspatial examination of the character of Knoxville's neighborhoods.

CHAPTER III

TYPES OF POOR BLOCK GROUPS IN THE URBANIZED AREA OF KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

Chapter II indicates that according to traits described by urban poverty researchers, Knoxville's average poor census tract varies from the underclass stereotype. This chapter is a detailed examination of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area. In this chapter I describe the location of poor block groups in Knoxville's urbanized area and use cluster analysis to identify poor block group types based on the demographic, economic, and landscape characteristics discussed in Chapter II. Next, I describe the salient characteristics of each type of block group and compare each type with the underclass consensus.

A. LOCATION OF POOR BLOCK GROUPS IN THE KNOXVILLE URBANIZED AREA

This study includes all poor block groups in the Knox County portion of Knoxville's urbanized area. A block group is defined as poor if at least 20 percent of its population is below the poverty level. Block group data are from 1980 census summary tape files (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c, 1983d). Eighty block groups, about one fourth of those in Knoxville's urbanized area, are poor (Figure III-I).

Clearly, the location of Knoxville's poor block groups deviates from the location of poor neighborhoods described by underclass researchers. While the underclass consensus and most existing urban poverty theory indicate that poor neighborhoods are located adjacent to a city's central business district (Burgess, Park, and McKenzie, 1925; Hoyt, 1939; Bunge, 1975; Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988), Knoxville's poor block groups are

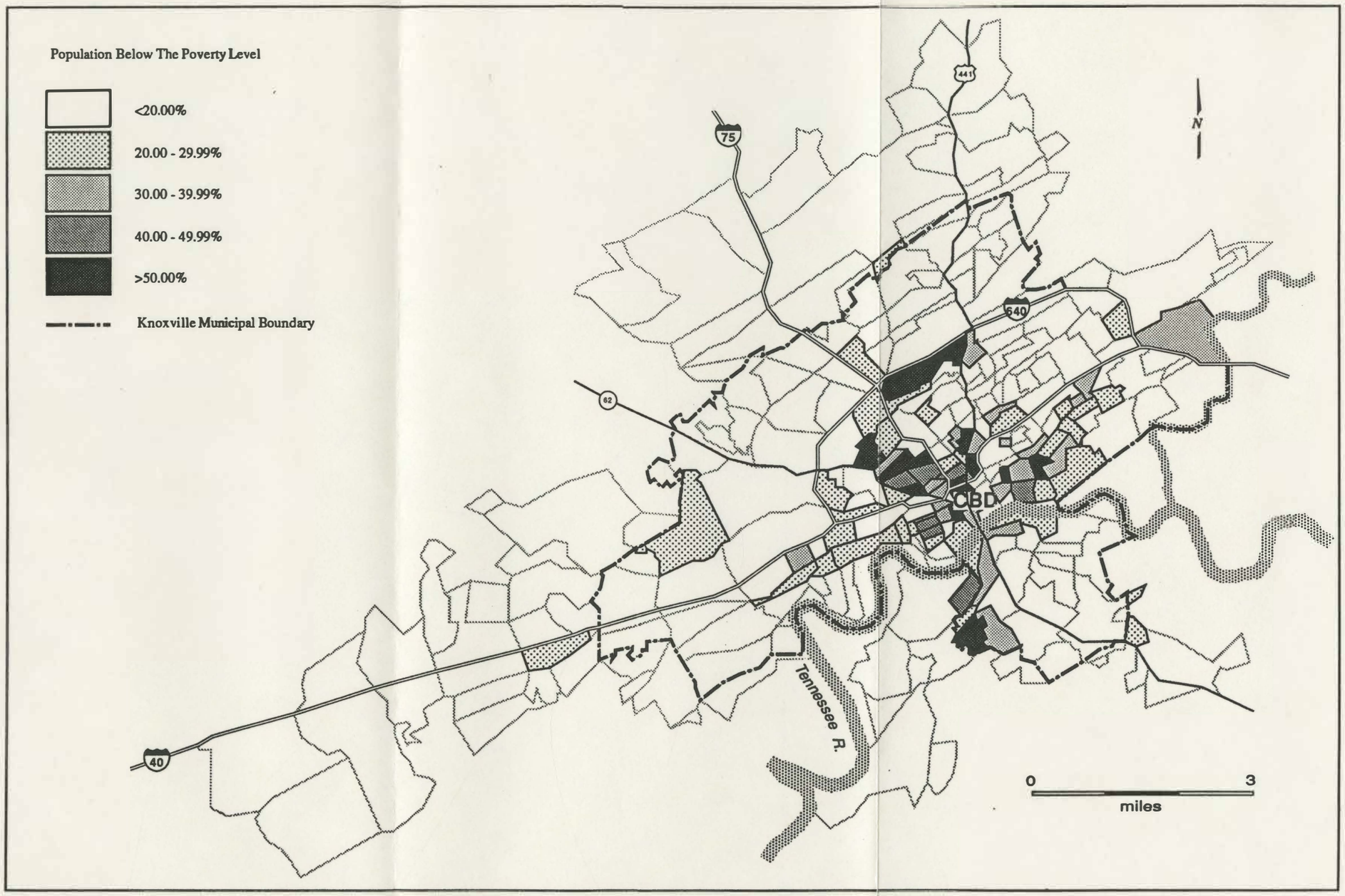


Figure III-1. Poor block groups in the Knoxville, Tennessee urbanized area, 1980.

scattered throughout the urbanized area. While high concentrations of poverty exist around the central business district and in much of the northwest quadrant of the inner city, they also occur in the far north and far south parts of the urbanized area. Most high concentrations of poverty are surrounded by lesser concentrations. Lesser concentrations of poverty extend in corridors to the east and west of the central business district, but isolated pockets exist near the fringe of the urbanized area.

B. TYPES OF POOR BLOCK GROUPS IN THE KNOXVILLE URBANIZED AREA

I used a cluster analysis to identify types of poor block groups in Knoxville's urbanized area. Cluster analysis is a statistical tool that is employed to categorize phenomena with multivariate characteristics (Andenberg, 1973). Unlike most factor analyses, which group variables on the basis of similarity across cases, cluster analysis groups cases on the basis of similarity across variables. Cluster analysis is an appropriate method of discerning types of poor block groups because it considers block groups as composites of input variables.

The cluster analysis in this study is based on the variables listed in Table II-I. I used this group of variables for two reasons. Because they describe the underclass consensus, these variables allow me to compare the results of my analysis with underclass research. Also, the variables portray diverse aspects of neighborhoods, enabling me to analyze demographic, economic, and landscape characteristics of poor block groups. Because I wanted to include more measures of economic characteristics than previously incorporated in underclass research, I added variables on median income and percent of block group households receiving Social Security. Combined with percent of the population below the poverty line, median income provides an indication of the range of

incomes in each block group. Percent of households receiving Social Security is a measure of non-employment income other than public assistance. I standardized all variables by converting them to percentage form. To standardize median income, I divided the median income for each block group by the highest median income for the poor block groups ($21,750 for block group 9 in census tract 57.2).

Before conducting the cluster analysis, I performed a correlation test to insure that no two variables resembled each other too closely. As a result of the correlation test, I removed the "percent persons under 18" and "percent persons 65 and older" variables from the data set. The "percent persons under 18" correlated closely with the "percent households with children present headed by females" (R-squared= .81), and the "percent persons over 65" correlated closely with the "percent households receiving Social Security" (R-squared= .60). The final data set contained seventeen variables and eighty cases (Appendix 1).

I used Ward's method of cluster analysis which I chose after trying the single-linkage, average-linkage, and centroid methods of hierarchical cluster analysis. Ward's is the method of cluster analysis most widely used by social scientists (Andenberg, 1973). It groups cases (in this study poor block groups) two at a time on the basis of similarity across input variables. When two cases are joined they become a "cluster". That cluster is joined with other cases and other clusters until all cases are aggregated into one cluster. Under Ward's method the similarity of cases is expressed by the semi-partial R-squared. The semi-partial R-squared is a measure of dissimilarity based on a sum of squares method. Low semi-partial R-squared values indicate high degrees of similarity among joined cases or clusters. Ward's method afforded the best fit based on my knowledge of the block groups in the data set and the levels at which they clustered.

Figure III-2 shows results of the cluster analysis.[1] Many poor block groups clustered at relatively low semi-partial R-squared levels and could not be matched with other clusters until much later in the process. This type of result indicates that the clusters are good ones. Most block groups fit neatly into categories. Only one of the eighty block groups does not belong in any category or could fit in several. There are several places where one might stop the clustering process and produce a meaningful analytic result. I chose to stop the process at the .02 level. Such a decision yields a result of eight categories with one case (block group 2 in census tract 9) as a deviate/isolate.[2]

Because seventeen variables were used in the analysis, it was impossible to name the clusters on the basis of all defining features. I gave the eight cluster categories names on the basis of race and home ownership. In order from the highest concentration of poverty to the lowest, the clusters are: black public housing, white public housing, elderly public housing, mixed land use, student apartments, black owner-occupied, white owner-occupied, and rural-urban fringe. Block groups are not totally homogeneous. There are households or persons in each category, therefore, for whom the cluster name is inappropriate.[3]

Researchers often evaluate cluster results by comparing the average of the input cases in each cluster for each of the input variables (Andenberg, 1973). Table III-1 shows the average of each cluster for each of the input variables. This table shows that none of

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1 Block group numbers are shown as a combination of census tract and block group number. For example, block group 5 in census tract 37 is shown as block group 375.

2 This block group consists almost entirely of University of Tennessee dormitories.

3 Drawing the category line at a semi-partial R-squared of .02 yields a detailed classification of types of block groups in the urbanized area. At a broader scale (semi-partial R-squared of .15), Knoxville's poor neighborhoods separate into two types: those that are predominantly black or include public housing (30 block groups) and those that are predominantly white and do not include public housing 50 block groups).

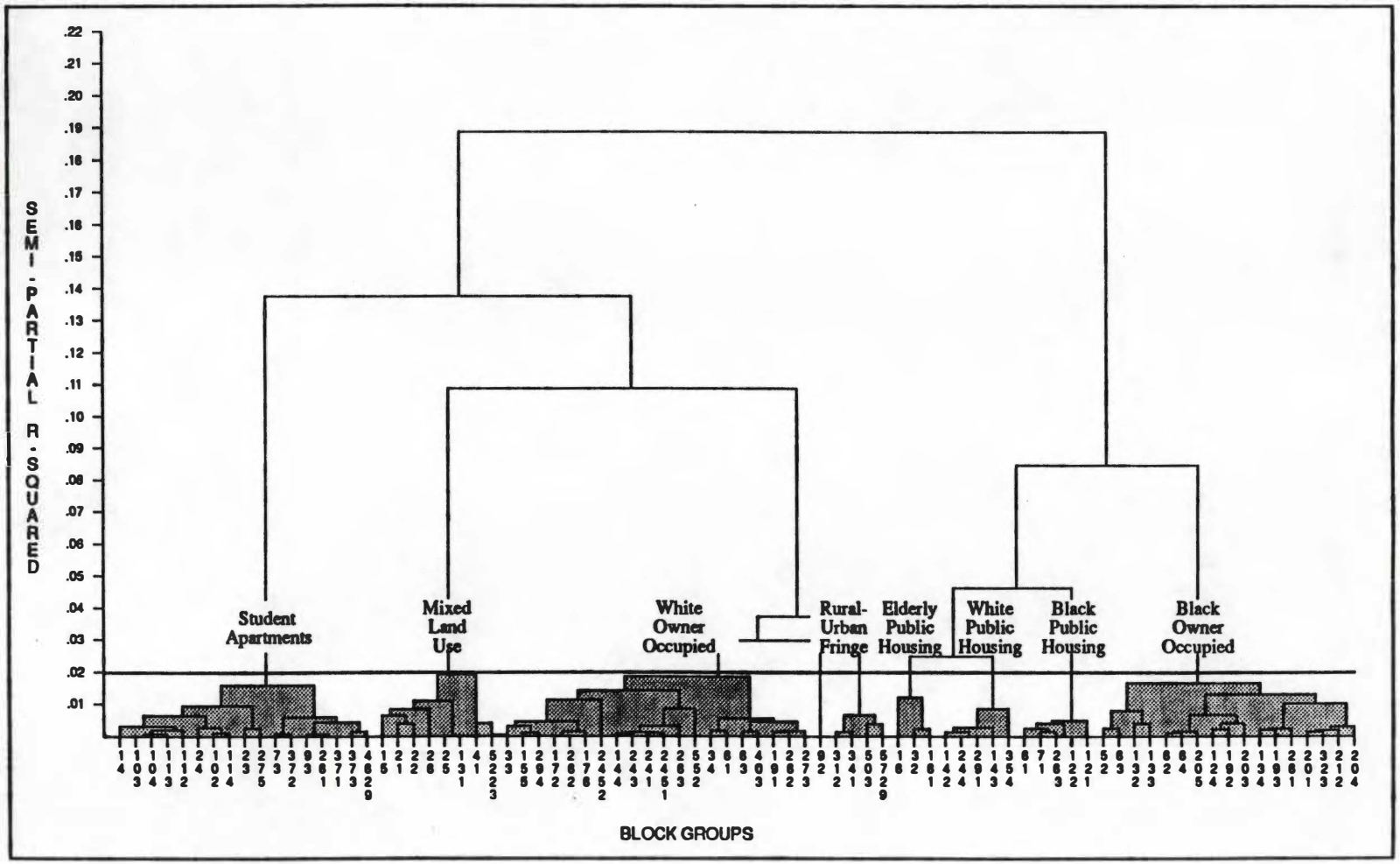


Figure III-2. Cluster analysis results.

TABLE III-1
POOR BLOCK GROUP CLUSTER CHARACTERISTICS

	Black Public Housing	White Public Housing	Elderly Public Housing	Mixed Land Use	Black Owner-Occupied	White Owner-Occupied	Student Apart-ments	Rural-Urban Fringe
% Persons non-white	86.90	14.69	6.01	7.10	75.06	2.73	10.60	0.64
% Households with children present headed by females	49.75	32.91	6.22	12.99	22.62	13.11	6.50	9.01
% Persons 16-64 with work-preventing disabilities	16.41	25.55	35.80	24.83	15.67	15.66	9.48	13.60
% Persons 16-19 not in high school and not high school graduates	20.90	50.99	13.04	85.20	14.10	28.78	10.20	14.81
% Persons 25+ high school graduates	68.70	47.25	54.67	50.02	67.27	59.82	83.57	84.96
% Persons below poverty line	67.40	63.19	47.48	43.11	30.26	29.47	34.19	23.83
% Of highest median income	17.84	22.46	18.49	35.93	37.55	42.40	33.12	82.93
% Persons 16+ unemployed 15 or more weeks	7.96	5.47	1.71	8.53	6.50	5.41	4.60	1.18
% Households receiving public assistance	46.06	36.57	19.45	21.67	19.84	12.58	3.79	4.40
% Households receiving Social Security	28.91	32.21	68.84	38.94	36.55	37.38	16.19	19.69
% Housing units owner-occupied	13.26	26.49	12.92	22.22	52.77	56.19	10.36	71.14
% Persons 5+ living in same house since 1975	51.45	46.53	53.04	42.23	57.55	57.07	14.91	75.58
% Year-round housing units vacant	5.78	7.02	4.12	13.94	8.88	8.25	10.44	3.82
% Year-round housing units with more than 1.0 person per room	7.86	8.01	1.88	6.85	5.76	5.64	4.30	6.34
% Year-round housing units with incomplete plumbing	1.45	1.13	1.29	11.85	1.84	4.07	3.25	0.56
% Year-round housing units built before 1939	28.40	28.02	16.02	73.71	30.38	42.44	26.45	4.85
% Occupied housing units with no motor vehicle available	60.48	43.40	69.76	41.23	32.00	18.32	20.00	3.62

the block group types is exactly like the stereotypical underclass neighborhood. Each block group type varies in at least one way from the underclass consensus. Some, including white owner-occupied block groups, are radically dissimilar from it. They are predominated by white employed persons in two-parent families. Block groups that contain public housing projects are the most similar to underclass neighborhoods. They are concentrations of poverty where inhabitants exhibit many of the traits associated with the underclass, including high rates of female-headship, receipt of public assistance, and renter occupancy.

Figure III-3 shows the distribution of types of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area and helps to explain the distribution of poor block groups shown in Figure III-1. Public housing projects account for the highest concentrations of poverty in the city, including those in the far north and south, the area just east of the central business district, and much of the region northwest of the central business district and south of Interstate 640. All public housing block groups are surrounded by lesser concentrations of poverty, mostly composed of the same race as the nearby public housing. The corridor of poor block groups that extends to the east of the central business district is a sector of predominantly black block groups in which residents own their homes. Student apartments block groups are located in the downtown and stretch through a corridor past the University of Tennessee toward the west. Unlike most other poor areas, these block groups are near middle- and upper-class ones. Mixed land use block groups account for the high concentrations of poverty around the central business district. White owner-occupied block groups are scattered throughout the urbanized area, especially in areas more than two miles from the central business district.



Figure III-3. Types of poor block groups in the Knoxville, Tennessee urbanized area, 1980.

Public Housing Block Groups

Knoxville's public housing was constructed by the Knoxville Community Development Corporation (KCDC), a public agency which uses funds from the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and local sources. There are twelve KCDC-owned low-income and elderly housing projects in the study area. The projects are not concentrated in one part of the urbanized area (Figure III-4). While four large housing projects are located northwest of the central business district, projects are also located in east Knoxville and in the far south and north parts of the city.

The dispersed location of Knoxville's projects is the product of shifts in KCDC's philosophy toward the siting of public housing. Over time, KCDC has located new housing projects increasingly far from the central business district. From 1940 through 1965 the agency constructed public housing projects near the center of the city, using them to replace dilapidated housing around the city's oldest industrial areas. It built 1,637 units in four projects: College Homes (320 units), Austin Homes (329 units), Western Heights (688 units), and Lonsdale Homes (300 units). Three were located in black communities and constructed for blacks. Western Heights, which was constructed for whites, replaced workers' housing around Brookside Mills, a large textile factory.

After 1965, KCDC changed its philosophy toward the construction of public housing. Increasing poverty pressured the agency to build more low-income housing. At the same time, public opinion had changed with regard to public housing. As crime increased in Knoxville's projects, people began to view them as areas of concentrated poverty and social deviance, not new and clean alternatives to deteriorated housing. From 1966 through 1970, KCDC built three elderly housing projects: Guy B. Love Towers (249 units), Cagle Terrace (274 units), and Northgate Towers (277 units). It also built

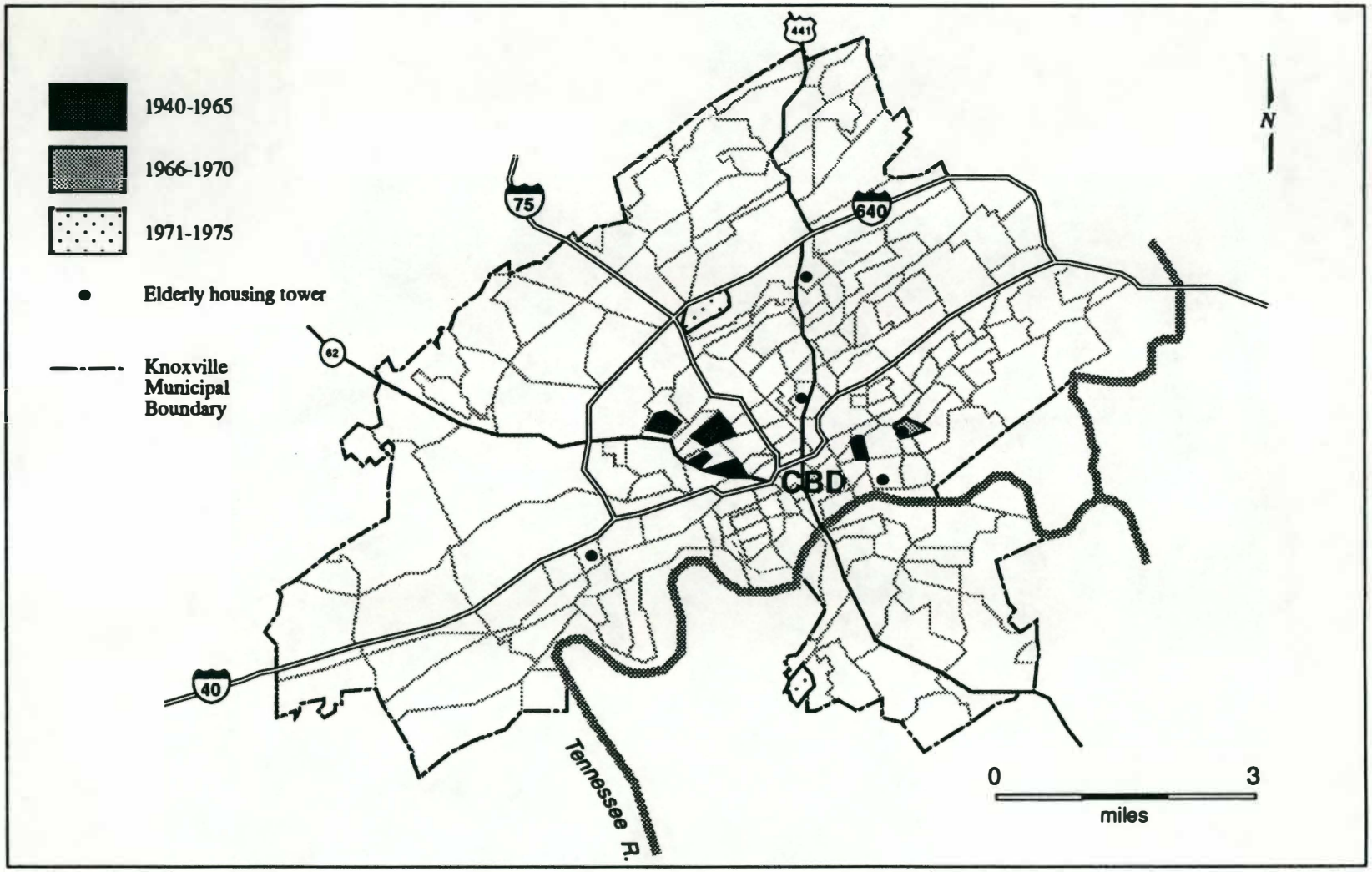


Figure III-4. Construction dates of Knoxville Community Development Corporation public housing projects.

Walter P. Taylor Homes (500 units), a combination of low-income and elderly housing. The towers for the elderly were an effective and less controversial form of public housing. They allowed KCDC to shift elderly tenants from existing low-income projects to the new projects for the elderly, freeing space for low-income persons in need of housing. Also, the elderly housing projects were not threatening to adjacent neighborhoods.

By 1970, the demand for more low-income housing had increased. With guidance from HUD, KCDC settled on the idea of building public housing in largely vacant areas near Knoxville's municipal limits. Between 1970 and 1973 it constructed two low-income projects: Christenberry Heights (326 units) and Montgomery Village (452 units), both of which were more than three miles from the central business district. In 1975, the agency bought College Hills (144 units), a low-income apartment complex owned by the Kiwanis club, and built one more elderly project, Isabella Towers (240 units) (Knoxville Community Development Corporation, 1989; Ford, 1990).

Since 1973, KCDC has encouraged private sector involvement in housing low-income persons. Through HUD, KCDC administers programs that fall under Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937. Section 8 programs allow low-income tenants to live in houses and apartments that are privately owned and managed. Houses and apartments throughout Knoxville are rent-subsidized by the Section 8 program. Many of these dwellings are located in poor areas, especially in east Knoxville[4] (Wilson, 1989).

The most concentrated type of Section 8 housing is apartment complexes built for low income persons (Section 8, new construction). There are fourteen Section 8 low-income apartment complexes in the Knoxville urbanized area, thirteen of which are within the Knoxville city limits (Figure III-5). Most are at least two miles from the central

[4] KCDC will not reveal addresses of individual houses or apartments rented to Section 8 tenants.

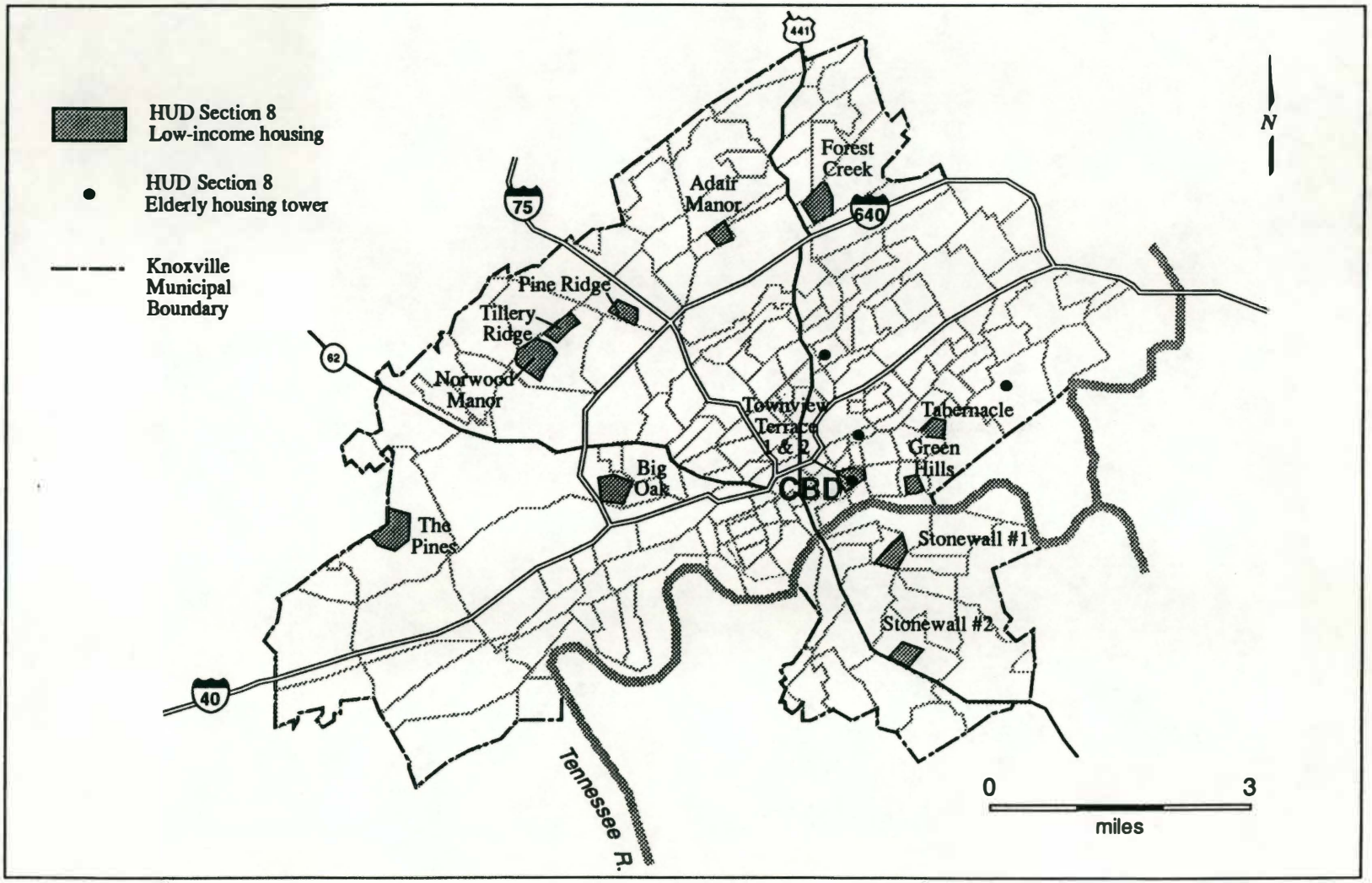


Figure III-5. HUD Section 8 apartment complexes and elderly housing towers.

business district, and six are located in poor block groups. There are also eight Section 8 apartment complexes for elderly persons, six of which are within the Knoxville city limits and three of which are in poor block groups (Ambler, 1985). The locations of Section 8 housing projects illustrate KCDC's attempt to decentralize low-income and elderly public housing. None of the Section 8 apartment complexes is located in a block group classified as a public housing block group by this cluster analysis. Summit Towers is the only Section 8 apartment complex for the elderly located in a block group classified as public housing. It is just north of the central business district.

Poor block groups containing KCDC's twelve public housing projects suffer from many of the poverty-related problems that underclass researchers described. As Auletta and Lemann found in underclass neighborhoods, block groups containing public housing projects do not have many businesses. Because most low-income projects are more than two miles from a large supermarket, many residents rely on nearby small convenience marts. These stores further exacerbate income deficiencies in areas of public housing by charging exorbitant prices. A recent study showed that food prices of stores near the projects are much higher than those of large supermarkets. A gallon of milk at the McSpadden Street Market near Western Heights or Cas Walker's Associate Store near College Homes costs more than $3.00, nearly twice the price at supermarkets. The study also found that convenience marts carry a limited selection of foods and that much of the perishable food is not fresh (Davis, 1990).

Like the underclass neighborhoods described by Auletta, Murray, Lemann, and Ricketts and Sawhill, crime is common in and around Knoxville's low-income public housing projects. While crime statistics are not available by block group or project, a review of local newspapers indicates that a substantial number of crimes, including homicide, armed robbery, and prostitution, occur in public housing block groups (Garber,

1991; McCrae, 1990a; 1991; Vreeland, 1989). Glenn Ford, manager at KCDC, believes that public housing projects are becoming increasingly unsafe because of drug distribution and use. The drug trade moves from one project to another as police identify and arrest persons involved in drug activity (Ford, 1990).

According to Fred DeBruhl, Executive Director of KCDC, and Rita Fortner, head of the Austin Homes Tenant Association, residents of public housing projects are not large-scale buyers and sellers of drugs. They believe residents play intermediate roles by allowing people to do "illegal things on their property" (Marcum, 1990a). Because their incomes are low, residents of public housing are enticed by money they can make by allowing their homes to be used for the drug trade. Public housing projects serve as centers for drug interaction, but residents reap only a small percentage of the money from drug sales. Such a description is similar to Auletta's assessment that many members of the underclass are non-violent hustlers (Auletta, 1982).

As Deskins and Kasarda found, residents of Knoxville's public housing have trouble accessing goods and services (Deskins, 1969; Kasarda, 1980). Less than half (48%) the households in low-income projects own cars. Diane Evans, president of the College Homes Tenant Association, stated that many residents find it unfeasible to pay bus fare to commute to suburban jobs (Evans, 1991). Cab fare from Western Heights to the nearest large supermarket is $10.00 (Davis, 1990). Problems of access have been further augmented as crime rates have increased in the projects. Several of the city's cab companies refuse to go into the projects after 6:00 PM (Knoxville Journal, 1991).

Knoxville's public housing is racially identifiable. Although the 4,600 units are 55 percent black and 45 percent white, five of the projects are predominantly black and seven are predominantly white. The racial composition is primarily a product of resident choice. KCDC randomly assigns applicants to projects but allows them to veto (up to three times)

assignments that they do not like. Ford believes that because most people choose to live in projects close to the neighborhoods they grew up in, the racial composition of each project is similar to that of the surrounding neighborhood (Ford, 1990). A recent study by KCDC revealed that most of the residents of public housing are people who have lived in Knoxville all their lives. Very few residents are from other cities or the surrounding rural area (Spicuzzi, 1990).

The cluster analysis identifies segregation in public housing. At a semi-partial R-squared of .0048, it divides the block groups containing public housing into those that are primarily black, primarily white, and mostly elderly. The fact that the semi-partial R-squared is low is significant in two ways. First, it indicates the existence of substantial differences other than race and age among black, white, and elderly public housing projects. It also suggests that the block groups within each public housing cluster category are similar.

Black Public Housing Block Groups

The black public housing block group cluster includes all of the public housing projects that are more than 80 percent black: Austin Homes, Walter P. Taylor Homes, Lonsdale Homes, College Homes, and College Hills. Except for the block groups that contain Lonsdale Homes and College Hills, block group boundaries coincide with housing project boundaries. The Lonsdale Homes block group contains 107 dwellings that are not part of the housing project, and the College Hills block group contains 147 non-project dwellings. Walter P. Taylor Homes, the newest of the black public housing projects, are garden-style frame buildings. All of the other housing units are garden-style brick buildings.

The black public housing projects are clustered in three of Knoxville's neighborhoods (Figure III-6). Austin Homes (99% black) and Walter P. Taylor Homes (97% black) are located in the Five Points area just east of the downtown. The population of the six block groups that make up the Five Points area is 95 percent black. The other three projects are situated in areas that are more racially integrated. College Homes (93% black) and College Hills (86% black) are located in the Mechanicsville neighborhood, which is about 65 percent black. Lonsdale Homes (82% black) is situated north of Mechanicsville in the Lonsdale neighborhood which is 45 percent black.

The block groups in the black public housing cluster are more similar to the underclass neighborhoods than those in any other cluster type in the Knoxville urbanized area. They are mostly black, have the most chronic poverty (67% of the population below the poverty line), contain many female-headed households (50%), and house many welfare recipients (46%). Also, long-term unemployment rates are higher than in other parts of the Knoxville urbanized area. Eight percent of the residents of black public housing block groups were unemployed 15 or more weeks in 1979.

A large portion of the workforce of black public housing block groups is female. Most of the employed female residents of housing projects in east Knoxville work in clerical jobs, primarily in the downtown or east Knoxville area. Residents of projects in Mechanicsville and Lonsdale are more likely to work in service occupations. Many work as maids or custodians in homes and businesses in the high-income areas of West Knoxville (Knoxville, Tennessee Directory, 1988; Evans, 1991).

For many residents of black public housing projects, living in public housing is an accepted way of life. Lengths of residence in black public housing are longer than those in other types of public housing. The average resident of a black public housing project lives there for ten years (Knoxville Community Development Corporation, 1989). While part of

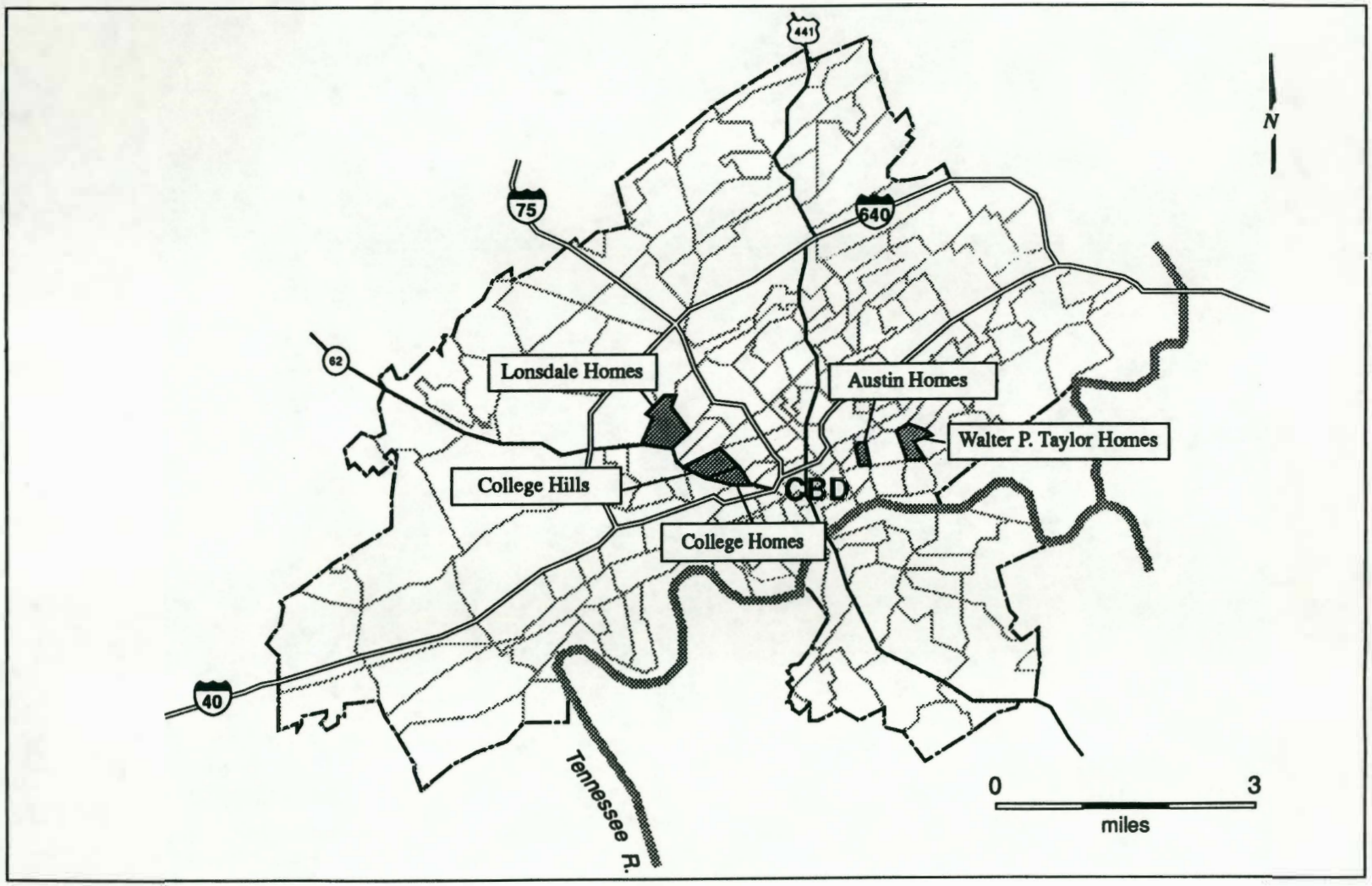


Figure III-6. Black public housing block groups.

the residents either live in the projects for a very short time or continually move from unit to unit, more than half live in the same dwelling for at least five years. Some households have lived in the projects for more than one generation (Evans, 1991). They resemble Auletta's classification of the underclass as long-term welfare recipients (Auletta, 1982).

Education levels in Knoxville's black public housing block groups differ from those described by the underclass consensus. While most underclass researchers state that underclass neighborhoods are characterized by lax attitudes toward education, education levels in Knoxville's black public housing block groups are higher than those for most other poor block groups. Nearly seventy percent of residents twenty-five and older have high school educations.[5] Percentages of persons graduating from high school in Knoxville's black public housing block groups are five points higher than those for the state of Tennessee, and ten points higher than those for poor block groups in Knoxville. Nearly 80 percent of children between the ages sixteen and nineteen stay in high school until graduation. These figures concur with Jencks' assertion that education levels among poor urban blacks are higher than those that the underclass consensus presents (Raymond, 1989).

White Public Housing Block Groups

Western Heights, Christenberry Heights, and Montgomery Village are the three public housing projects occupied predominantly by whites. Western Heights is 85 percent white, Christenberry Heights is 77 percent white, and Montgomery Village is 72 percent

[5] Knoxville College, a predominantly black college, is located in the same block group as the College Hills housing project. Percent of high school graduates is slightly higher in this block group than that in the four other black public housing block groups.

white (Knoxville Community Development Corporation, 1989). The five block groups in which the projects are located comprise the white public housing block group cluster. In contrast to black public housing block groups, most white public housing block groups contain dwellings that are not public housing units. Eighty-four percent of the 1,765 dwellings in the five block groups are public housing units. Except for a small part of Western Heights, all of the public housing units are garden-style frame buildings.

As areas of chronic white poverty, the white public housing block groups contradict the underclass consensus. Sixty-three percent of the population of the white public housing block groups is poor. All of the five white public housing block groups are surrounded by poor white neighborhoods (Figure III-7). Only the block group south of Western Heights is more than five percent black. White public housing projects are located farther from the central business district than most black public housing projects.

Other than racial composition and location, most of the traits of white public housing block groups are underclass characteristics. White public housing block groups are concentrations of female-headed families (33%), and about one third of the population is on welfare. Education levels in white public housing block groups are more similar to those described by underclass researchers than those in black public housing block groups. Only 47 percent of the residents of Knoxville's white public housing block groups have completed high school, and half of children between the ages sixteen and nineteen drop out of high school.

The primary differences between Knoxville's white and black public housing block groups are in the economic opportunities available to the persons living in them. In spite of lower education levels, long-term unemployment is less common in white public housing block groups. They have larger male workforces with many residents working in manufacturing jobs. The average median household income is $1,700 higher in white

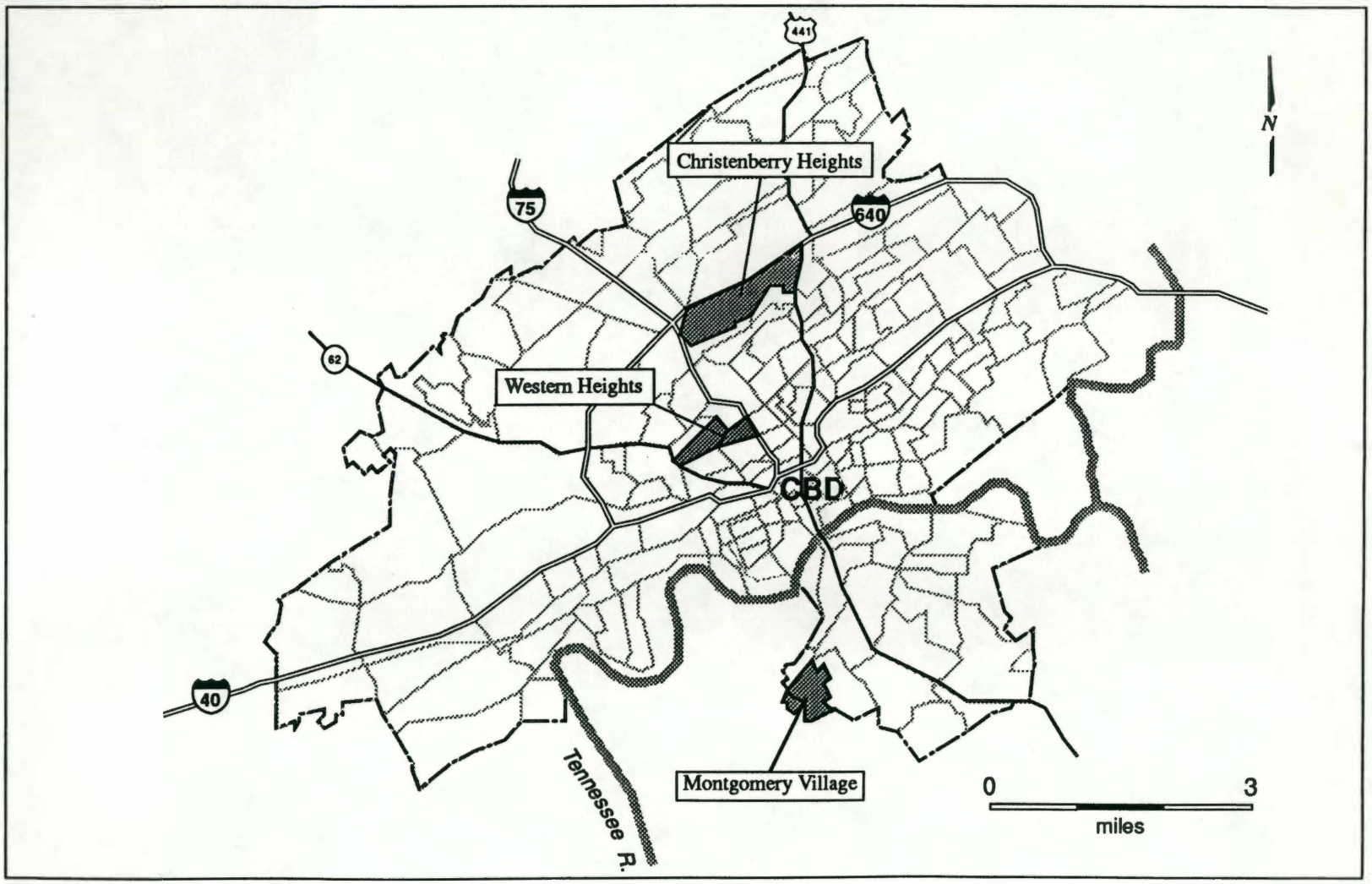


Figure III-7. White public housing block groups.

public housing block groups than in black ones. KCDC records suggest that residents of Knoxville's white public housing either are less willing to stay in public housing or have an easier time passing out of poverty than residents of black projects. Residents of white public housing live in projects for about five years, less than half the average stay in black projects (Knoxville Community Development Corporation, 1989).

Elderly Public Housing Block Groups

The cluster analysis identified three block groups whose populations are mostly residents of public housing for the elderly. Two, Guy B. Love Towers and Northgate Towers, are the locations of the KCDC projects. The other is the site of Summit Towers, HUD elderly housing built under the new construction portion of the Section 8 program. The public housing towers are located in neighborhoods that differ socioeconomically and geographically. Summit Towers is in the central business district, Guy B. Love Towers is in a poor white neighborhood about 1.5 miles north of the central business district, and Northgate Towers is in a middle-class white neighborhood three miles north of the central business district (Figure III-8). Nearly all of the elderly housing in Knoxville is in tower form.

This cluster does not include all of the public housing for the elderly in Knoxville. KCDC's three other elderly housing projects - Cagle Terrace, Walter P. Taylor Homes, and Isabella Terrace - are located in other types of poor block groups. Cagle Terrace is in a block group classified as student apartments, Walter P. Taylor Homes is in a black public housing block group, and Isabella Terrace in black owner-occupied block group. There are also seven other HUD Section 8 elderly housing complexes, two of which are in poor block groups (Ambler, 1985).

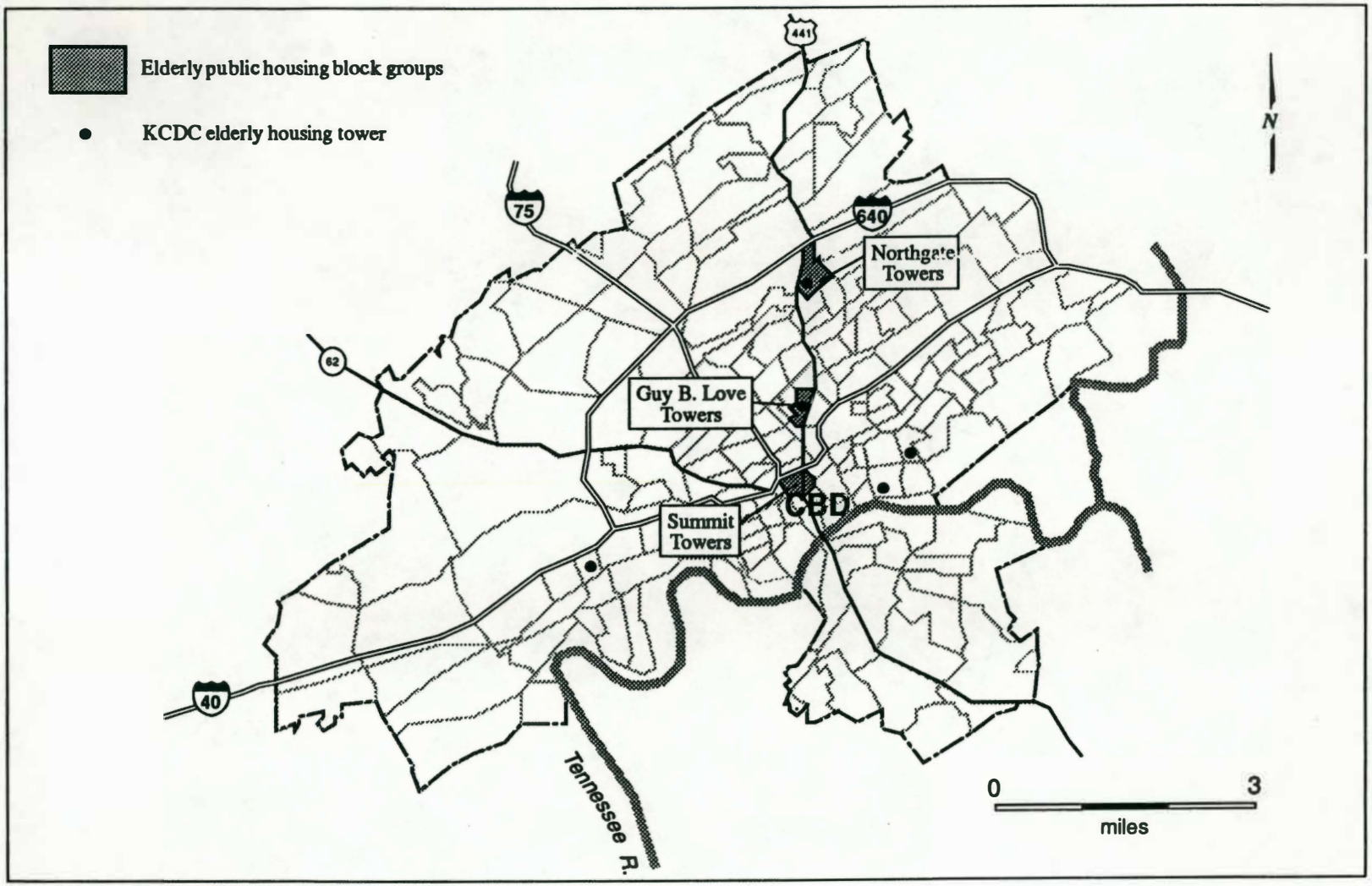


Figure III-8. Elderly public housing block groups.

Other than having large concentrations of poor people (47%) and extremely low median household incomes, the elderly public housing block groups have little in common with underclass neighborhoods. Elderly public housing projects are located closer to middle-class residential communities and commercial areas than other low-income housing projects. Northgate Towers and Cagle Terrace are within three blocks of large grocery stores. All elderly housing projects, except Isabella Towers, are within a few blocks of major medical facilities.

Most of the residents of the elderly public housing block groups are white. Of the three elderly public housing block groups, only Summit Towers is more than three percent black. Knoxville's elderly public housing is racially segregated. Racial composition of elderly public housing follows the same unwritten rule as other public housing. The primary race of a project is the race of the neighborhood surrounding it. Isabella Towers in east Knoxville, which is 25 percent black, is the only exception to this rule.

Mixed Land Use Block Groups

The mixed land use cluster contains eight block groups. I chose the name "mixed land use" because the block groups in this cluster contain less residential land than those in any of the other clusters. Block groups in this cluster include part of the central business district and neighborhoods around it, including parts of Mechanicsville, Happy Hollow, Fourth and Gill, and Park Ridge[6] (Figure III-9). All of the block groups in this cluster are bordered by old factories or factory sites and are peppered with new institutional facilities

[6] Block group 3 in census tract 52.2 is the only one in the cluster not located near the central business district. It is situated in the eastern part of the urbanized area just outside the city limits. Like the other neighborhoods, this one also sprang up around an early industrial area, the John Sevier Rail Yards.

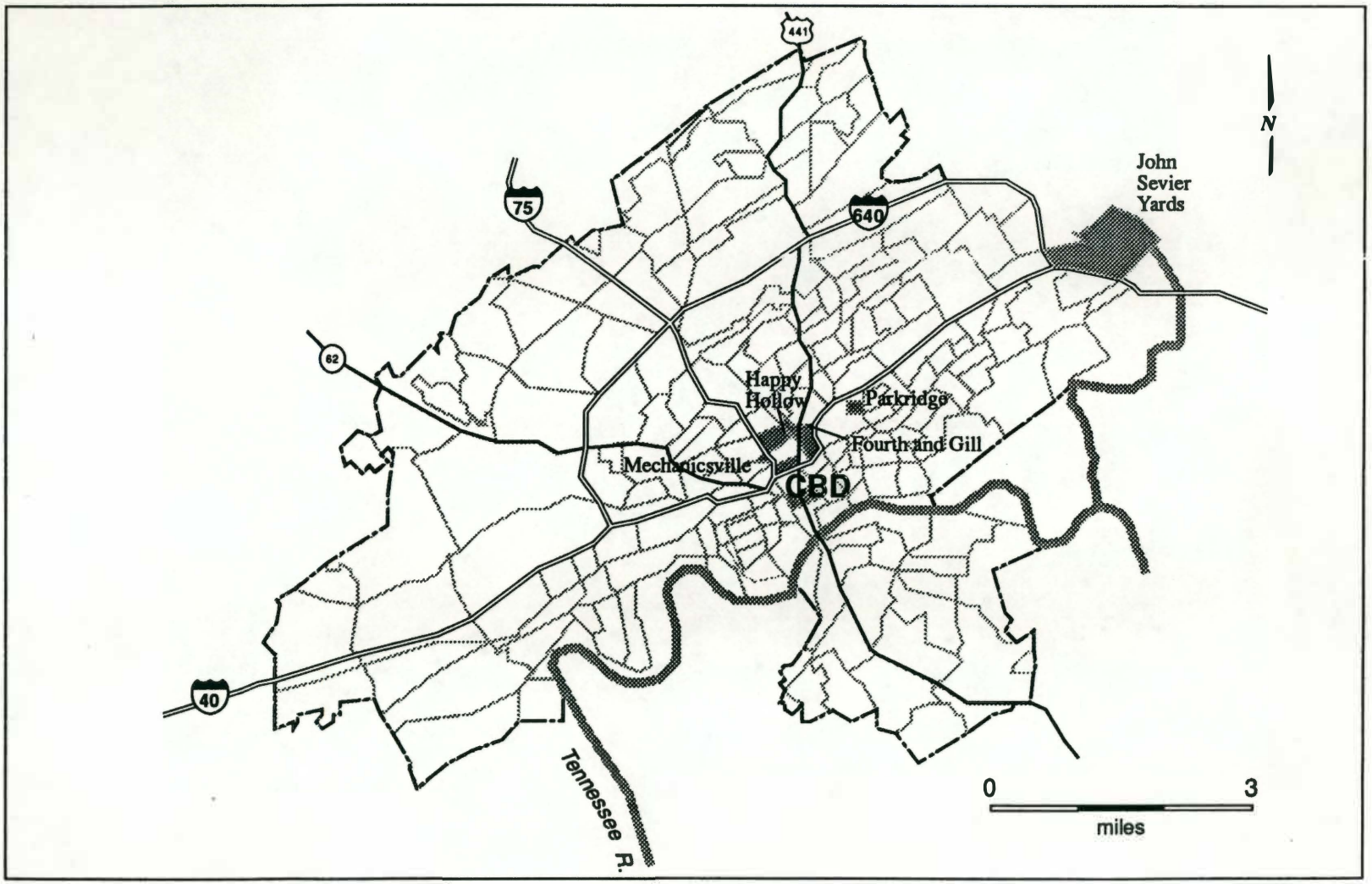


Figure III-9. Mixed land use block groups.

and temporary businesses. Factory sites are especially common along the Norfolk-Southern and CSX railroads. Commercial uses prevail along Broadway and Central Avenues, which bound five of the eight block groups.

The mixed land use block groups are remnants of some of Knoxville's earliest industrial communities. Prior to 1900, most of Knoxville's industries were located close to the central business district and the surrounding neighborhoods housed both workers and managers (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983) (Figure I-3). The mixed land use block groups contain a diversity of dwellings, ranging from large Queen Anne and Victorian houses to small bungalows and shotgun houses. Shotguns are generally located closer to the railroad tracks than the grander houses. At least 70 percent of the dwellings in each mixed land use block group are more than fifty years old.

The economic conditions in Knoxville's mixed land use block groups resemble those described by underclass researchers. Other than those in the public housing clusters, the block groups in this cluster have the highest concentrations of poverty in the Knoxville urbanized area. In 1980, 43 percent of persons living in mixed land use block groups were poor. Residents have higher rates of public assistance and Social Security income than those in any other type of poor block groups, except the public housing ones. Also, long-term unemployment rates and percents of children dropping out of high school are higher in mixed land use block groups than any other type.

The landscapes of the mixed land use block groups are similar to those described in underclass research. Housing is more deteriorated than that in block groups of any other cluster. An average of 12 percent of the units lack complete indoor plumbing, three times the rate for any other type of poor block group. Many of the houses are vacant or burned out. In some block groups, more than one-fifth of the units are vacant. Most residents rent

their dwellings (78%) and occupy them for short periods. In 1980, 58 percent of the residents had lived at their present address less than five years.

Block group 5 in census tract 2 is a good example of the decline of the mixed land use block groups. The block group is part of the Happy Hollow neighborhood, a residential area that once housed white laborers employed by Brookside Textile Mills and Chavannes Lumber Company (Insurance Maps of Knoxville, Tennessee, 1917). The block group is bounded by Central Avenue on the east, Baxter Avenue on the north, Interstate 275 on the west, and Bernard Street and the Old Gray Cemetery on the south. Dwellings range from large houses along Hinton Street to small shotgun dwellings along Lee Street adjacent to the Norfolk-Southern Railroad.

Several factors prompted the decline of the block group. High-income persons began to move from the large houses as early as 1920. As they left, the dwellings were subdivided into small apartment units, especially during the Great Depression. In the post World War II decade, industries closed or moved out of the area, leaving large buildings and vacant lots along the railroad tracks. Brookside Mills ceased operation in 1962. Some of the long-term residents living in the small, poorly-constructed houses found themselves without nearby employment and left (Blanton, 1990; Knoxville City Directory, 1945-1965). Commercial uses, especially automotive repair and wholesale companies spread north from the central business district along Central Avenue. Many of the smaller houses were torn down. In the early 1960s Interstate 275 was cut through the neighborhood.

Eventually, institutional uses located where old industrial buildings and houses had been razed. Hinton Street, which is only three blocks long, has three halfway houses, a social-service agency, the Hinton Street Mission, and the Volunteer Ministry Center. The portion of Central Avenue that bounds the block group supports commercial uses

frequently associated with poor neighborhoods, including two taverns, three thrift stores, and an Armed Forces Recruiting station (Knoxville, Tennessee Directory, 1990).

The persons who take advantage of the group homes and cheap rental properties in Knoxville's mixed land use block groups differ from those described by underclass researchers. While underclass researchers state that underclass neighborhoods are populated primarily by black and Hispanic female-headed families, most of the residents of Knoxville's mixed land use block groups are white (93%) and members of two parent families (87%). Census statistics and field investigations indicate that these block groups serve as points of entry for poor rural whites and temporary homes for people who suffer short-term bouts with poverty. The block groups may provide an alternative to public housing for Knoxville's poor whites. At least they absorb some of the white population that would otherwise live in public housing.

Several of the neighborhoods in this cluster have changed dramatically since 1980. In 1976, the Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission targeted Mechanicsville, Fourth and Gill, and Park Ridge as recipients for various types of federal funding for rehabilitation of existing dwellings and construction of new ones (East Tennessee Community Design Center, 1990). These neighborhoods were chosen because they had deteriorated substantially but contained large houses with splendid architecture. Programs included Section 312 low-interest loans for rehabilitation. The programs were very successful, especially in the Fourth and Gill area (Harrison, 1983). Increasingly, the three neighborhoods are being populated by well-educated young professionals. The block groups that contain mostly small houses for factory workers have changed very little since 1980.

Black Owner-Occupied Block Groups

Seventeen of the poor block groups comprise black neighborhoods in which most residents own their own homes. With 21.7 percent of the population of Knoxville's poor block groups, this cluster is the third largest in the urbanized area. The black owner-occupied cluster contains all poor block groups (other than public housing ones) in which 25 percent or more of the population is black. Block groups in this cluster form three distinct areas in the urbanized area: the Mechanicsville neighborhood, the northern Lonsdale neighborhood, and East Knoxville. East Knoxville includes the Morningside Heights, Five Points, Park City, and Burlington neighborhoods (Figure III-10).

Black owner-occupied neighborhoods in the northwest quadrant of the city had different origins and growth patterns than those in East Knoxville. Both Mechanicsville and Lonsdale began as communities for laborers in industries that employed blacks, including the Knoxville Iron Company and the Southern Railroad Coster Shops (Insurance Maps of Knoxville, Tennessee, 1917; Renley, 1986; Leflore, 1986). Both communities were always racially mixed (Knoxville, Tennessee Directory 1917-1925). East Knoxville's black population spread from "The Bottom" and Mountain View black residential areas near First Creek (just east of the central business district) and gradually infiltrated white residential space. Both Park City and Burlington were white communities.

Urban renewal projects have dramatically influenced the landscape of black owner-occupied block groups (Bunge, 1975). Most of Knoxville's urban renewal projects eliminated older black neighborhoods. The Willow Street urban renewal project of 1957 cleared out "The Bottom". In 1969, the Mountain View urban renewal project wiped out most of the Mountain View neighborhood (Jamieson and Manning, 1990). Of Knoxville's

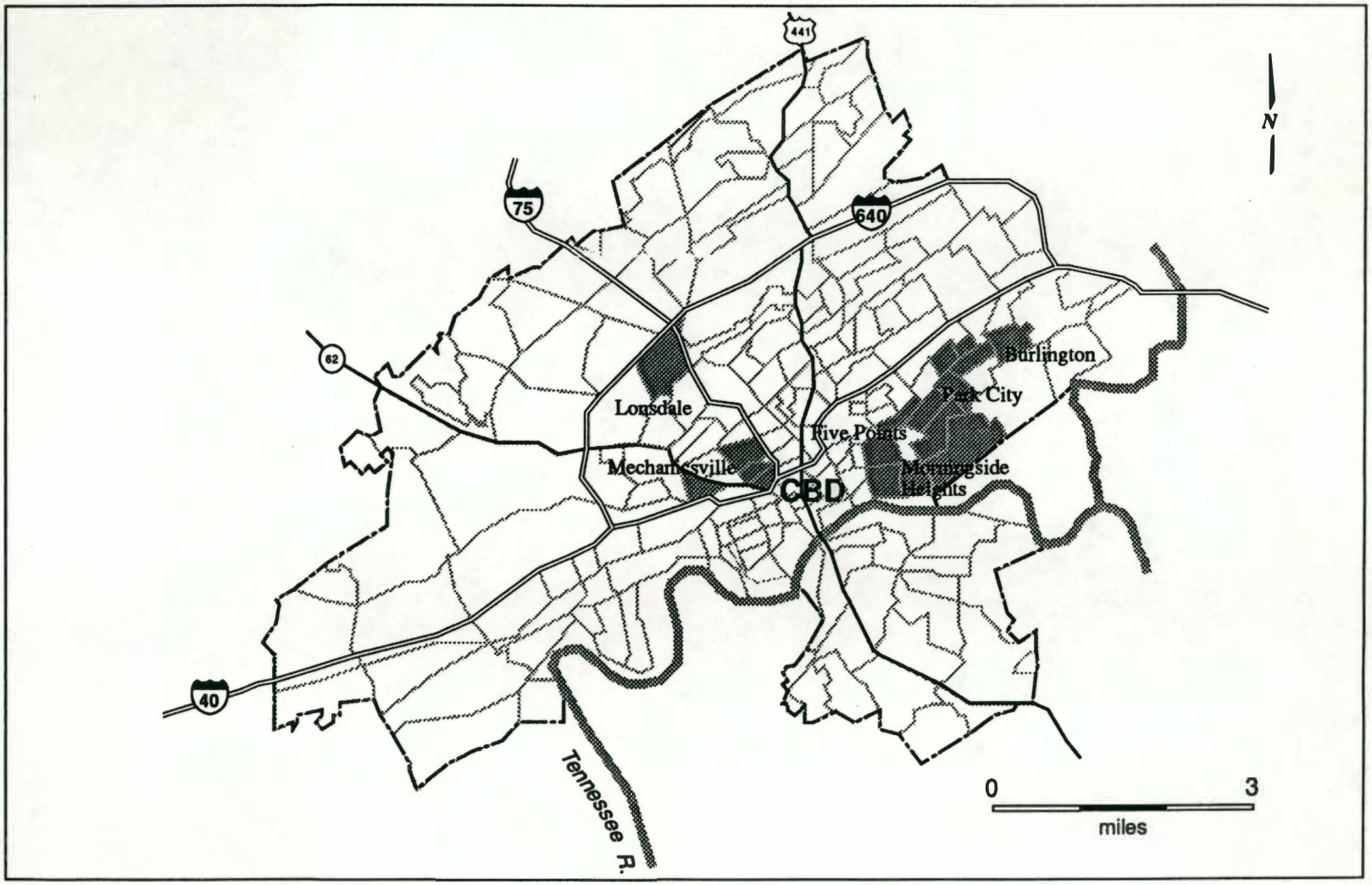


Figure III-10. Black owner occupied block groups.

four urban renewal projects prior to 1980, only the Yale Avenue-University of Tennessee project was not in a black neighborhood (Knoxville News Sentinel, 1970).

One of the areas most dramatically affected by urban renewal in Knoxville is Morningside Heights , which is just east of the central business district (block group 2 in census tract 5 and block groups 2,3, and 4 in census tract 6). As part of the 1974 Morningside Heights urban renewal project, KCDC tore down 311 deteriorated homes and replaced them with 174 small brick structures on large lots. KCDC also rehabilitated 28 homes that were in moderate disrepair. Ninety percent of the dwellings that were razed or rehabilitated were occupied by blacks (Fry, 1969). Ninety-seven percent of the current occupants of Morningside Heights are black, and more than 85 percent of the families are headed by females (Knoxville Community Development Corporation, 1989).

Although the populations of black owner-occupied block groups are not predominated by underclass characteristics, they have more characteristics of the underclass consensus than the populations of most types of poor block groups in Knoxville. Residents have higher unemployment levels than those in any other block group cluster except black public housing and mixed land use. Black owner-occupied black groups also exhibit higher rates of female headship than most other block group types, with an average rate of 23 percent. Similarly, black owner-occupied block groups exhibit higher rates of reliance on public assistance, with 20 percent of households receiving AFDC.

The characteristics of housing in the black owner-occupied block groups are also more like those of underclass neighborhoods than housing in most other types of poor block groups in Knoxville. Although most of the housing stock is less than 50 years old, much of it is in disrepair. Many of the houses have signs of structural weaknesses, including sagging roofs and porches. Two percent of the units lack complete plumbing, and six percent are crowded. Vacancy rates are higher in black owner-occupied block

groups than other block group types, except mixed land use. About nine percent of the units in black owner-occupied block groups are vacant year round.

Like Lemann's descriptions of underclass neighborhoods, many businesses in Knoxville's black owner-occupied block groups are declining and short-lived. Business types are amazingly similar to those Rose describes in The Black Ghetto, "Negro-type businesses, including beauty shops, wig shops, dry cleaners, poolrooms, and record stores" (Rose, 1971, 74-81). Commercial areas along College Avenue in Mechanicsville and McCalla Avenue in East Knoxville confirm his analysis. Figure III-11 shows an enclave of businesses in the Burlington neighborhood. Across the street from the Head and Face Beauty Salon is Top Hat Formal Wear, Andre's Dynasty Hair and Wig shop, and Jimmy Dee's Record Shop. About 1/4 mile west on McCalla are a number of "private clubs," houses that have been turned into bars and pool halls. As both Lemann and Rose found, nearly all of the businesses have barred windows.

Although race, family structure, and the landscape characteristics of black owner-occupied block groups resemble underclass descriptions, the block groups exhibit several traits which contradict the underclass consensus. Knoxville's black owner-occupied block groups have not experienced the outmigration of middle-class blacks that Lemann and Wilson suggest is characteristic of underclass neighborhoods. Only one of the black owner-occupied block groups has a poor population of more than 40 percent. Most block groups, especially those in East Knoxville, are populated by a mix of low, middle, and upper income blacks, sometimes within the space of one block. Figure III-12 shows two properties on the same side of the street within the same block in the Park City neighborhood. While most of the houses in Knoxville's black owner-occupied block groups are middle-class homes, such diversity is common.



Figure III-11. Businesses on McCalla Avenue in the Burlington neighborhood.



Figure III-12. Properties on Parkview Avenue in the Park City neighborhood.

Another factor which distinguishes Knoxville's black owner-occupied block groups from the underclass consensus is attitude toward education. Education levels in Knoxville's black owner-occupied block groups are relatively high, averaging ten percentage points higher than the state of Tennessee. Pride in education is also reflected in the low drop-out rate among high school students. At 14 percent, it is about equal to the United States average and is 40 percent lower than the average for poor block groups in Knoxville (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983b).

Finally, in contrast to the underclass consensus, most black owner-occupied block groups in Knoxville comprise stable communities with long-term residents (Elliot, 1986; Leflore, 1986). More than 50 percent of the families own their homes, and nearly 60 percent have lived in their houses for more than five years. The stability is reflected in the effectiveness of neighborhood organizations, which are active in all three areas. Lonsdale has one neighborhood organization, Mechanicsville has two, and East Knoxville has at least five (Knoxville Center for Neighborhood Development, 1990). These organizations have helped the neighborhoods to improve by enabling them to compete for state, local, and federal grants. Recently, HUD targeted the Mechanicsville and Five Points areas for community development block grants of more than two million dollars (Knoxville News Sentinel, 1990).

White Owner-Occupied Block Groups

The white owner-occupied cluster contains twenty block groups, more than any other cluster category. Nearly one-fourth of the persons in poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area live in white owner-occupied ones. In contrast to other cluster types, white owner-occupied block groups are dispersed throughout the urbanized area,

especially in areas more than two miles from the central business district. Seven of the white owner-occupied block groups are located in census tracts which are not classified as poor (Figure III-13).

Knoxville's white owner-occupied block groups are radically unlike the underclass consensus. They have almost no black residents (3%) and very few female-headed households (13%). Most residents own their own homes and live in them for long periods. Also, very few residents receive welfare or public assistance, and most are employed, primarily in manufacturing jobs. On the average, education levels are lower in white owner-occupied block groups than black owner-occupied ones.

Most of Knoxville's white owner-occupied neighborhoods are areas that developed in the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century as communities for laborers in the textile, apparel, marble, and lumber industries. The industries were located along rail lines in stream valleys just beyond the city. Large tracts of land provided relatively inexpensive space for factories and workers' housing. In 1920, white working-class neighborhoods existed around the Knox Gray and Eagle marble processing plants and Cherokee textile mills to the west, the Vestal Lumber Company and Jefferson Woolen Mills to the south, Brookside Textile Mills to the northwest, and Standard Knitting Mills to the northeast (Figure I-3).

Although both the mixed land use and white owner-occupied block groups developed as industrial communities, their landscapes are different. The white owner-occupied block groups do not have a high degree of commercial intrusion. Because most are located several miles from the central business district, they have remained primarily residential communities. Some have rural landscape characteristics. Lots are more than one-half acre in size with untended yards and shrubs, and some even have farm animals, especially chickens. Coal or wood is often used for heating, and discarded appliances and

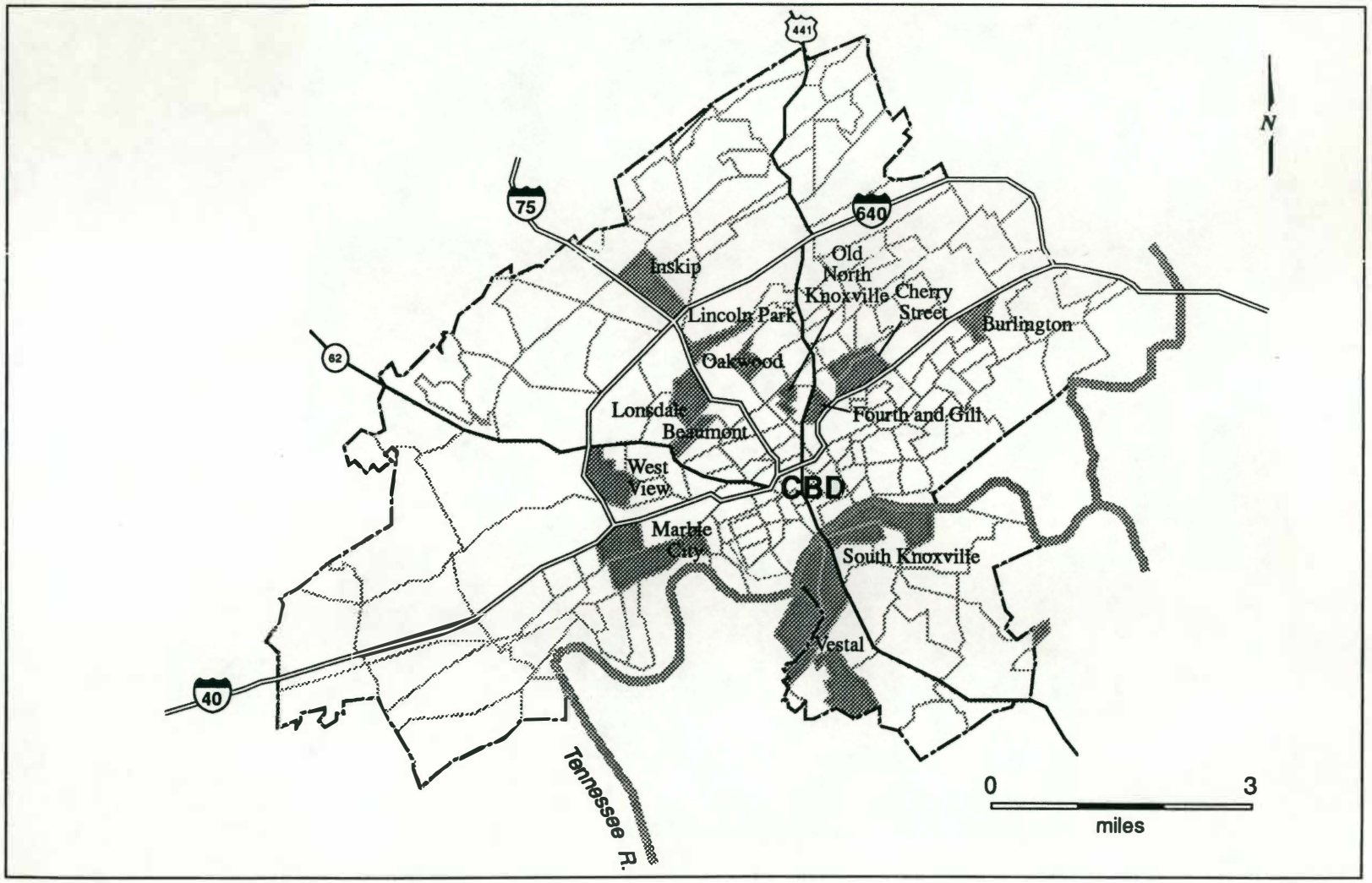


Figure III-13. White owner occupied block groups.

old cars are common landscape features. Also, while mixed land use block groups contain a wide variety of house types, the housing in white owner-occupied block groups is composed almost entirely of small workers' cottages. Five room bungalows are common; shotgun houses are typical near the old textile mills.

Most of the residents of white owner-occupied block groups do not have access problems as do residents of other poor urban neighborhoods. Because many of the white owner-occupied block groups are located in middle-class census tracts, they are near shopping and health-care facilities. Furthermore, nearly all of the households in white owner-occupied block groups have motor vehicles. In 1980, 82 percent of households owned cars or trucks.

Some variation exists among white owner-occupied block groups. Those in the northern part of Knoxville, especially those comprising the Lincoln Park, Lonsdale, Oakwood, and Old North Knoxville neighborhoods and the Cherry Street area, are more integrated into the urban fabric of Knoxville than most other white owner-occupied block groups. They have lower rates of owner-occupancy, more female-headed families, and more households relying on public assistance than other white owner-occupied block groups. They also have lower concentrations of poor persons and higher education levels. Block groups in the Burlington, Fourth and Gill, Inskip, Marble City, South Knoxville, and West View neighborhoods have higher percentages of elderly persons that own their homes than other white owner-occupied neighborhoods. As a group, they are slightly poorer than white owner-occupied block groups in north Knoxville. Vestal and Beaumont are the poorest white owner-occupied neighborhoods. Both are located near white public housing projects. The block groups comprising them contain more structurally unsound housing than other white owner-occupied block groups.

Student Apartments Block Groups

The student apartments cluster consists of block groups which house large numbers of University of Tennessee.students.[7] The seventeen block groups in this category are located in central and west Knoxville. The block groups comprise five distinct neighborhoods: Fort Sanders (including Tyson Park), Maplehurst, Amherst, the Townview Terrace apartment complex, and the West Sutherland Avenue area[8] (Figure III-14). The block group containing the Townview Terrace apartment complexes and the block group comprising the Amherst neighborhood both contain Section 8 low-income housing projects. Townview Terrace rents many apartments to students. The Amherst area is zoned high density residential and contains many apartments rented to young professionals (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1990b). Residents of student apartments block groups account for 29 percent of the residents of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area, more than any other cluster type.

Other than being areas of concentrated poverty, student apartments block groups are unlike underclass neighborhoods. About 90 percent of the population of the student apartments block groups is white. Most of the residents are young and unmarried. Only a small portion of families with children are headed by females. Unemployment levels are low, and only a small percentage of the population receives AFDC, SSI, or food stamps. Most of the housing units, especially in the Amherst, Townview Terrace and West

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7 Most of the students of Knoxville College live in block group 1 of census tract 12, which is classified as black public housing.

8 Three of the block groups in this category (block groups 3 and 4 in census tract 2 and block group 5 in census tract 27) are very sparsely populated. Because each contains less than 150 residents, their inclusion in this cluster is largely insignificant. These three block groups are not labeled as neighborhoods on Figure III-14.

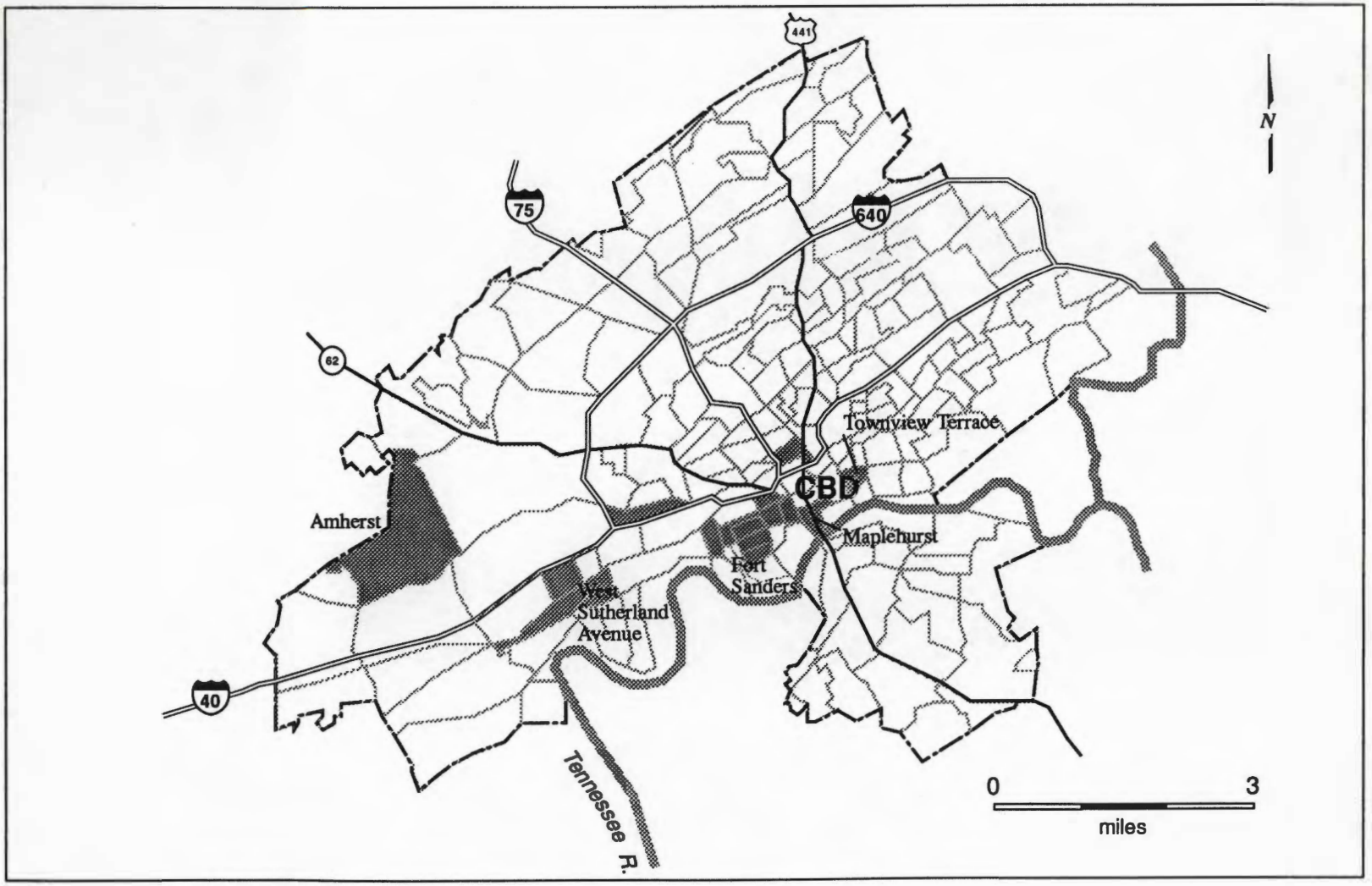


Figure III-14. Student apartments block groups.

Sutherland Avenue areas, are post -1960 apartment complexes. Few are structurally unsound. The Fort Sanders and Maplehurst areas contain older housing units and have higher percentages of structurally unsound housing.

Student apartment block groups are located between poor neighborhoods and upper- or middle-class ones and act as 'buffer zones' (Figure III-3). The West Sutherland Avenue area is a good example. It is located between the middle-class Forest Hills neighborhood and Marble City, a poor white owner-occupied neighborhood. Location near wealthier neighborhoods works to the benefit of student apartment block groups, which unlike most other poor block groups, are located relatively close to shopping and medical facilities. For example, the West Sutherland Avenue area is less than half a mile from a large supermarket.

Rural-Urban Fringe Block Groups

The cluster analysis isolated four block groups that are similar to white owner-occupied ones but that did not cluster with them until a semi-partial R-squared of .037. The four block groups in this cluster are located at the farthest reaches of the urbanized area. Block group 3 in census tract 50 is in the far north, block group 2 in census tract 31 is in the east, block group 1 in census tract 34 is in the far south, and block group 9 in census tract 57.2 is in the west (Figure III-15). Only one, the Loveland neighborhood in northeast Knoxville, is within the city limits.

Rural-urban fringe block groups have virtually nothing in common with underclass neighborhoods. These block groups are middle-class areas which contain small enclaves of low-income persons. For the most part, these block groups consist of post-World War II subdivisions whose residents are members of educated white, employed families. The

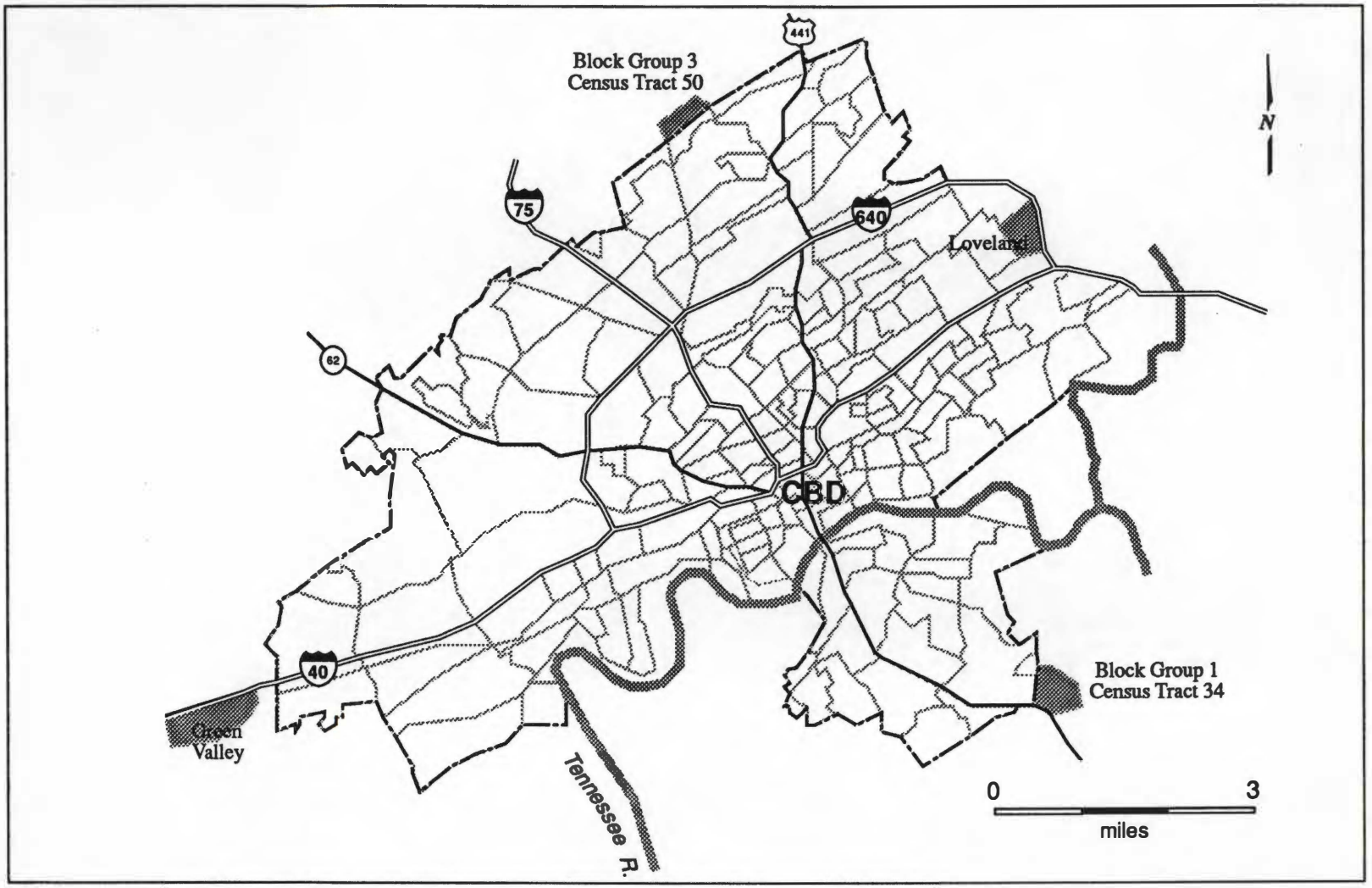


Figure III-15. Rural-urban fringe block groups.

poverty enclaves are similar to white owner-occupied block groups. They consist of two-parent white families with low education levels. The houses in the enclaves are lower in quality than those surrounding them. Three of the block groups contain old poverty areas engulfed by suburbanization. Rather than seeking to eliminate the poverty areas, developers constructed new subdivisions around them. The intrusion of new development raised the median incomes of the block groups and gave the old poverty areas statistical images of suburban places.

Block group 1 in census tract 34 is a good example. In 1950, this block group was a sparsely-populated area occupied by low-income white families. Houses were located along the modestly-travelled Sevierville Pike and two side roads. Although the area was adjacent to the city boundary, the landscape was rural. Lots were large and overgrown and dwellings were not connected to public water or sewer systems. Between 1952 and 1960, two new subdivisions with a total of forty-eight houses were constructed on heavily-travelled U.S. Highway 441, which runs adjacent to Sevierville Pike (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission Registrar of Deeds, 1990). The new subdivisions raised the median income of the area, but the pocket of poor whites was unaffected by their construction.

The Green Valley area in west Knoxville is a unique type of poor block group. In 1979, it had the highest median income of any poor block group in the Knoxville urbanized area. Green Valley is a 52 lot subdivision built in 1959 (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission Registrar of Deeds, 1990). When constructed, it was a relatively isolated subdivision in a sparsely populated, high-income area of Knox County. Shortly after Green Valley was built, Interstate 40-75 cut across the backyards of the homes on the northern side of the subdivision. The major thrust of development in west Knox County was along Interstate 40-75 and Kingston Pike, which became a very heavily

traveled commercial strip. The areas south, east, and west of Green Valley developed into a concentration of automobile dealerships. Houses in Green Valley lost part of their value. Some became rental property. Others were sold to low-income families. Several of the houses on the streets closest to Interstate 40-75 are rented under the HUD Section 8 program (Knox County Housing Authority, 1991).

C. CONCLUSIONS

Detailed investigation of the types of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area indicates that the underclass consensus has limited applicability in this Appalachian city. According to the results of the cluster analysis, only thirteen percent of the poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area, those containing public housing projects, exhibit most of the characteristics associated with urban underclass neighborhoods. The analysis lends additional credence to Jencks' assertion that underclass research may amass too many social problems under one broad heading (Raymond, 1989). Several of the types of poor block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area exhibit some, but not all, of the characteristics traditionally associated with underclass neighborhoods. Mixed land use block groups exhibit most of the economic and landscape characteristics associated with them, but they are not predominated by blacks or broken families. Although black owner-occupied neighborhoods have many broken families, their residents have high education levels and own their houses.

This large-scale investigation of urban poverty contradicts the notion that underclass neighborhoods are occupied primarily by ethnic and racial minorities. In contrast to the research of Lemann (1986), Nathan (1986) and Wilson (1987), this analysis shows that

some underclass characteristics, including high drop-out rates, are actually more concentrated in predominantly white housing projects than black ones.

The study supports Ricketts and Sawhill's presumption that areas with 40 percent and more of the population poor are more likely to have underclass characteristics than those with 20-39 percent poor (Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988). In Knoxville's urbanized area, four types of poor block groups -- black public housing, white public housing, elderly public housing and mixed land use -- have poverty rates of 40 percent and more. With the exception of the elderly public housing block groups, these block group types are more similar to extant descriptions of underclass neighborhoods than any other block group clusters in Knoxville.

The analysis also indicates that, as Levy suggested, many persons living in poor areas are only temporarily poor (Levy, 1977). In the Knoxville urbanized area, more poor persons live in student apartments block groups (27%) than any other cluster type. It is reasonable to presume that because most of the residents of these block groups are students, they are poor for a short time.

Finally, this analysis identifies a type of poor urban area virtually unstudied in urban poverty literature. White owner-occupied block groups are more prevalent in the Knoxville urbanized area than any other type of poor block group. Knoxville's white owner-occupied block groups are similar to the underclass consensus only with respect to education levels and drop-out rates. The predominance of white owner-occupied neighborhoods and the paucity of research on them suggest that understanding poverty in Knoxville necessitates more in-depth investigation of its white owner-occupied block groups.

CHAPTER IV

DETAILED EXAMINATION OF WHITE OWNER-OCCUPIED BLOCK GROUPS

This chapter is a detailed, large-scale examination of white owner-occupied block groups in the Knoxville urbanized area. The focus is on three sample white owner-occupied block groups: block group 3 in census tract 26, block group 5 in census tract 24,[1] and block group 5 in census tract 15. Each block group approximately outlines one of Knoxville's early subdivisions. The first block group consists primarily of the Grove Heights subdivision of Marble City, the second is the Geyland Heights subdivision and several small subdivisions surrounding it in Vestal, and the third is most of the Oakwood subdivision of north Knoxville (Figure IV-1).

This portion of the analysis is based on household surveys in the three sample block groups. The questionnaire is based on extant surveys of poor urban neighborhoods and communities in rural Appalachia. It covers migration patterns, family relationships, shopping and employment patterns, religious values, and resident satisfaction (Appendix 2). The survey involved administering the questionnaire and sketching the properties of the households surveyed. In most cases, I talked to residents inside their homes, which allowed me to take notes about the houses' interiors. Each interview took approximately one hour. I selected the households surveyed by a structured random sample. In each block group, I tried to examine the same number of houses on a street and spread the surveys evenly among blocks. I did not focus on any particular house type or on houses

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[1] A small portion of block group 5 in Census tract 24 is inside the Knoxville city limits. This detailed analysis focuses only on the portion of the block group which is outside Knoxville.

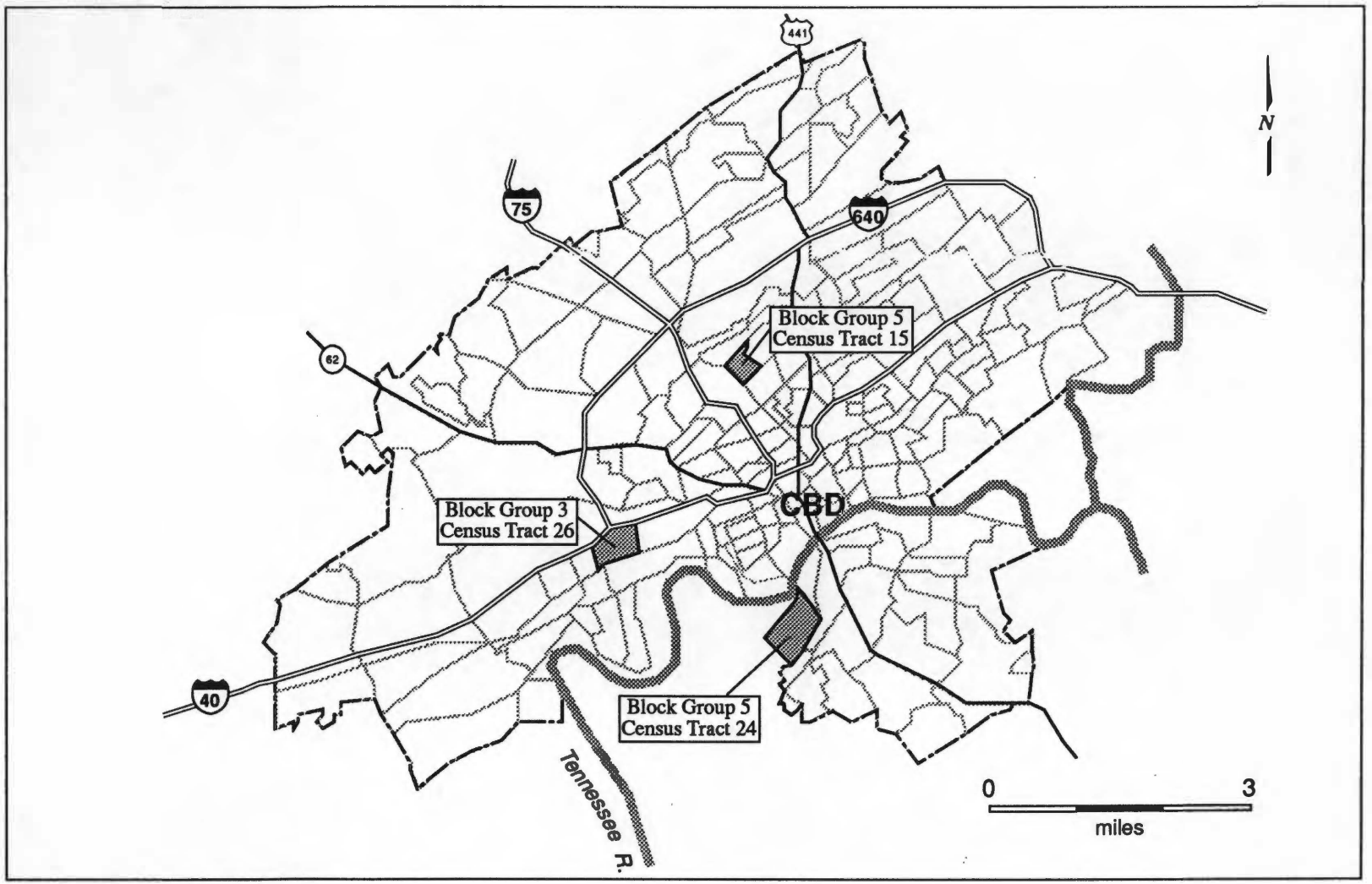


Figure IV-1. Sample study areas.

that appeared particularly derelict or particularly well maintained. I conducted sixty surveys, twenty in each of the three sample block groups. Appendix 3 is a summary of survey responses. The analysis is also based on Knoxville City Directories, census reports, urban planning documents, and historic maps and documents.

A. SAMPLE STUDY AREAS

I chose the three white owner-occupied block groups on the basis of location, poverty level, and landscape (Figure IV-1). Oakwood, located in the northern part of Knoxville, was constructed by a single developer in 1905 as one of the city's first subdivisions for the blue-collar elite (Kane and Bell, 1985). It is a level area of houses with manicured lawns. Twenty-one percent of Oakwood's population is poor. In contrast, the block group containing the Geyland Heights subdivision was developed gradually between 1920 and 1973. It is a heavily wooded, steeply-sloped area with winding streets. Located just outside the city limits in the southern part of the urbanized area, more than 40 percent of its population is poor. Grove Heights is a subdivision in the western section of the city. Thirty percent of the population of the block group containing Grove Heights is poor. Grove Heights' streets and lots were laid out by a single developer, but dwellings were built by individuals. Grove Heights is between Oakwood and Geyland Heights both in percentage of its residents who are poor and characteristics of its landscape.

Block Group 3 in Census Tract 26

Sample area one is block group 3 in census tract 26 (Figure IV-2). The block group is one of four that comprise the Marble City neighborhood. It consists mostly of the

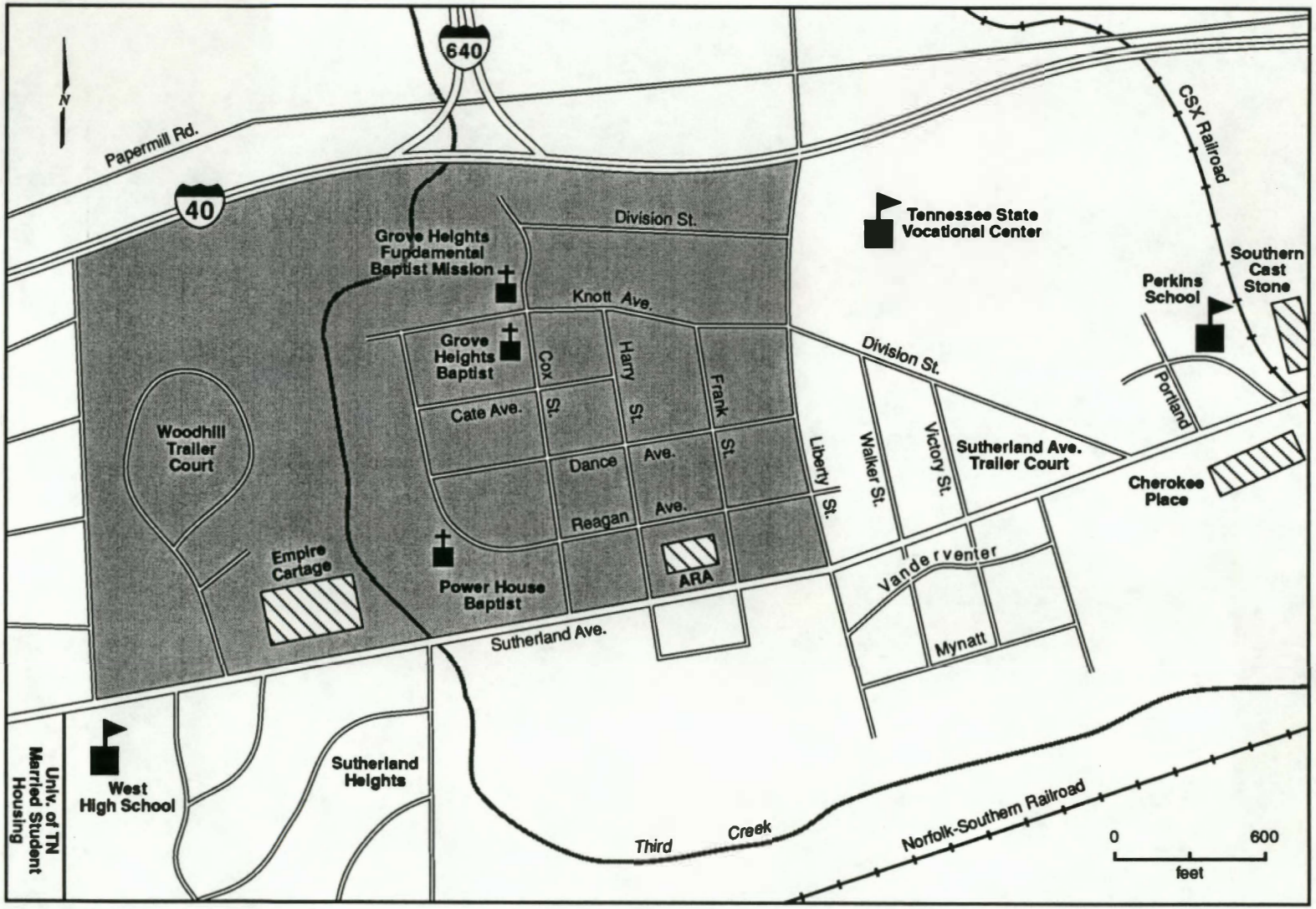


Figure IV-2. Block group 3 in census tract 26.

Grove Heights subdivision but also includes the Woodhill Trailer Court, which was established in 1964. The block group is situated along the north side of Sutherland Avenue, a commercial and industrial corridor that runs from Mechanicsville to suburban west Knoxville. It is bounded on the north by Interstate 40 and on the southwest by married-student housing for the University of Tennessee. Other subdivisions of Marble City lie east and south of the block group. Major residential streets (Knott, Dance, Cate, and Reagan) run parallel to Sutherland Avenue. Grove Heights is a hilly neighborhood which slopes from Knott Avenue to Sutherland Avenue and is bisected by the West Fork of Third Creek. Several wooded areas speckle the community. The area has a rural mystique. In 1980, 639 persons lived in the block group.

The population of the Grove Heights block group is radically different from descriptions of the underclass. In 1980, nearly all of the area's population was white (98%) and lived in two parent families (83%). Only eight percent of the population received public assistance. Most of the residents owned their houses (78%), and 73 percent had lived in their homes for at least five years. However, as most underclass researchers predict, many persons (51%) were not high school graduates (Table IV-1).

Household surveys show that the residents of Grove Heights have strong connections to their community (Table IV-2). All of the survey respondents own their houses (Appendix 3). Residents have lived in the block group an average of 32.9 years, and forty-two percent have lived there all their lives. Residents also have strong kinship ties to the community. Seventy percent of the households interviewed had relatives in the block group, and twenty percent had more than ten. One family had thirty six relatives living in Grove Heights.

Grove Heights originated in the early 1900s as an industrial community. It developed soon after the Grey Knox (founded 1917) and Padget (founded 1923) marble

TABLE IV-1
BLOCK GROUP CHARACTERISTICS 1980

	Block Group 3 Census Tract 26	Block Group 5 Census Tract 24[a]	Block Group 5 Census Tract 15
% Persons non-white	1.56	0.97	0.00
% Households with children present headed by females	16.81	15.12	15.86
% Persons under 18	26.13	30.11	21.95
% Persons 65 and older	15.02	10.22	19.16
% Persons 16-64 with work-preventing disabilities	11.16	24.07	20.82
% Persons 16-19 not in high school and not high school graduates	42.42	60.61	25.93
% Persons 25+ high school graduates	49.36	52.59	64.10
% Persons below poverty line	29.26	41.85	21.14
% Of highest median income	43.82	41.87	42.34
% Persons 16+ unemployed 15 or more weeks	3.40	11.26	1.00
% Households receiving public assistance	8.40	20.16	9.35
% Households receiving Social Security	26.89	37.21	45.33
% Housing units owner-occupied	78.15	53.49	65.72
% Persons 5+ living in same house since 1975	72.64	63.32	52.31
% Year-round housing units vacant	5.93	7.86	5.11
% Year-round housing units with more than 1.0 person per room	5.88	4.65	4.53
% Year-round housing units with incomplete plumbing	2.37	10.36	1.34
% Year-round housing units built before 1939	22.92	37.50	69.62
% Occupied housing units with no motor vehicle available	17.23	19.38	21.25

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983c. 1980 Census of population and housing: Summary tape file 1A, Tennessee. Washington: Bureau of the Census, Data Use Services Division.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983d. 1980 Census of population and housing: Summary tape file 3A, Tennessee. Washington: Bureau of the Census, Data Use Services Division.

Note: [a] Statistics are for the portion of the block group that is outside of Knoxville's municipal limits.

TABLE IV-2
SELECTED SURVEY RESPONSES

	Block Group 3 Census Tract 26	Block Group 5 Census Tract 24[a]	Block Group 5 Census Tract 15
Persons/household (average)	2.9	2.0	3.2
% Households with extended family in household	25	10	35
% Households with extended family in block group[b]	70	70	20
Family members in block group (average)[b]	5.6	7.1	.3
% Born in block group[c]	42	45	15
% Born in Knoxville[c]	79	75	44
% Born in Knoxville MSA[c]	85	89	56
Years at current address (average)	19.6	21.4	14.1
% Thirty or more years	40	35	15
% Five or less years	40	45	35
Years in block group (average)	32.9	32.8	15.8
% Thirty or more years	60	45	20
% Five or less years	20	10	35
% Church members	80	70	85
% Attending church at least one day per week	40	42	47
% Church members belonging to church in block group	47	79	24
% Employed at job in block group[c]	25	22	23
% With two or more incomes/household	30	25	45
% With household incomes of 20,000 or more	30	23	28
% With household incomes of 4,500 or less	25	23	10
% Receiving public assistance	35	30	30
AFDC	0	10	15
SSI	20	10	0
Food Stamps	5	15	20
% With family food gardens	50	60	10
% Performing "extra" jobs for money	40	55	40

Notes: [a] Statistics are for the portion of the block group that is outside of Knoxville's municipal limits.

[b] Only family members outside the respondents household.

[c] Includes head of household and spouse.

companies and the Cherokee Textile Mill (founded 1919) were established along the Southern and L&N Railroads. In 1915, the Grove Heights area was a single wooded tract owned by B.H. Sprankle, a wealthy Knoxville landowner and businessman (Waggoner, 1983). He laid out the streets, subdivided the property, and sold lots one at a time as people requested them. Sprankle's involvement was minimal, and development was hodgepodge. Property owners built their own homes and businesses.

All of the residents of early Marble City were white. Grove Heights was settled by whites from rural areas of northeast Tennessee and the racially-mixed working-class neighborhoods of Knoxville. Of the survey respondents, eight persons over fifty years of age had lived in Grove Heights all their lives. Four said that their parents had come to Grove Heights from rural areas in east Tennessee including Union County, Blount County, and Sevier County. The other four's parents had moved from Mechanicsville and Lonsdale, older Knoxville industrial communities.

When it developed, Grove Heights was situated on the western edge of Knoxville. It was annexed by the city in 1922. In 1917, the area was just outside the city limits, which ended at Liberty Street, the eastern boundary of the block group (Insurance Maps of Knoxville, Tennessee, 1917). At that time, the John Tarleton Orphanage (later the State Juvenile Detention Center and the State Vocational Center) was the only developed property in the area. The area was accessible only via Sutherland Avenue, which was a dirt road until 1925. Grove Heights must have been appealing both to laborers wanting to escape crowded and poor housing in Knoxville (Welles, 1939) and rural migrants who were unfamiliar with urban life. Also, moving to the area afforded workers the opportunity to own their own homes rather than rent them.

The character of the early community reveals the roots of Grove Heights' rural mystique. From the beginning, Grove Heights was bucolic. Its residents were poor and

worked hard, but they were not subject to the tyrannical paternalism that confronted laborers in many industrial communities. The area retained a rural ambiance, reflective of the rural Appalachian ancestry of its residents. Houses were situated on large lots, and many lots remained wooded. Residents kept farm animals on their properties, mostly chickens, but also horses, pigs, and milk cows. Third Creek was an important feature of the community. Children played in it during the week, and on Sundays local ministers used it for baptisms. One of the older citizens of the community said, "It was almost like living on a farm, with the convenience of a few city things."[2]

During its first fifty years, Grove Heights was largely an autonomous community. Small businesses owned by residents dotted the landscape. Between 1915 and 1964 the community was home to at least fourteen grocery stores (Waggoner, 1983). These stores had both economic and social functions in the community. They sold groceries and dry goods on credit and served as gathering places for laborers after work. The community also had small service shops, including barbers and, later, automobile service stations.

Grove Heights also had churches and schools (Figures IV-3a and IV-3b). The first church in the community was on the west end of Knott Street, and it opened as early as 1915. By 1980, churches had operated at six different sites in Grove Heights and six more in greater Marble City. Most of the churches were independent Baptist churches that held fundamental services, including Dance Avenue Baptist Mission, Fudamental Baptist Mission, and the Marble City Baptist Tabernacle. They catered to the residents of the community and attracted few persons from outside it. As grocery stores, churches were important community places. Grove Heights' children attended the Marble City school on

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2 Much of the material on the history of Grove Heights, Geyland Heights and Oakwood comes from survey respondents. For confidentiality, names are not revealed in this thesis.

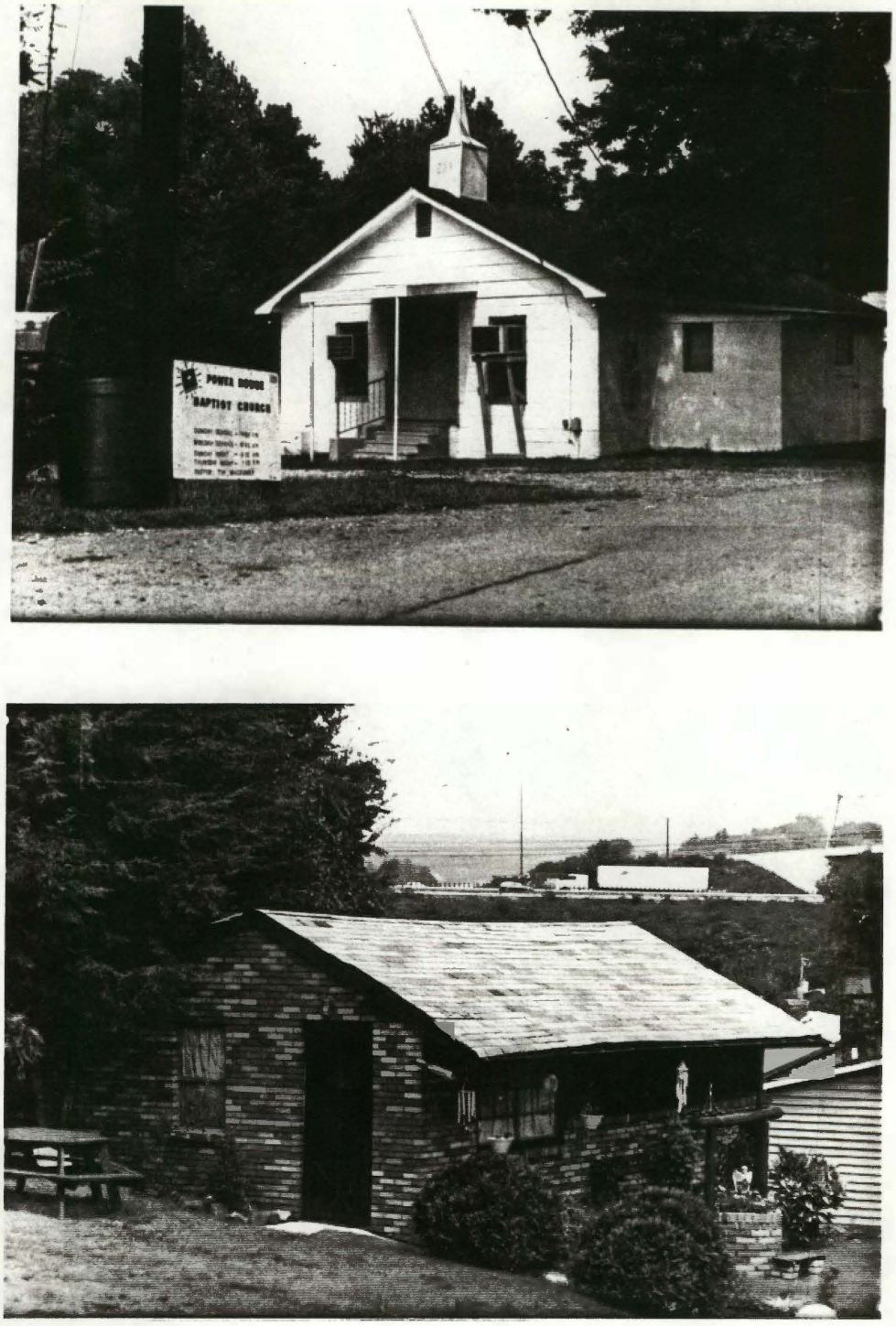


Figure IV-3. Grove Heights churches: (a) Power House Baptist; (b) Grove Heights Fundamental Baptist Mission.

Liberty Street from 1914-1927. After 1927, classes were held at the Perkins Elementary School in the eastern part of Marble City. The Perkins School closed in 1982.

Grove Heights lost much of its autonomy as Knoxville grew during the post-World War II era. The changes in Grove Heights were primarily the result of external forces. New development infringed on all of the subdivision's boundaries. In the early 1950s the Sutherland Heights residential development, which Grove Heights residents call "the Project," was created on the south side of Sutherland Avenue. The Sutherland Avenue Trailer Court was established just east of the community in 1952. In the early 1960s, ARA Food Services and Super Services Trucking were located on Sutherland Avenue, and in 1964, Woodhill Trailer Court was developed west of the community (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission Registrar of Deeds, 1990). Between 1965 and 1970 the University of Tennessee built 800 married student apartments to the southwest of Grove Heights (University of Tennessee, 1956-1970). About the same time, Interstate 40-75 was cut through the northern part of the community.

Between 1950 and 1970, many of Grove Heights' residents lost the jobs they had held for thirty or more years as factories closed or relocated. Padget Marble Company closed in 1966. Grey Knox was taken over by Southern Cast Stone. Cherokee Textile Mills moved to Sevierville. The Cherokee Mills building was occupied by Atlantic Mills, a flea market, a carpet company, and finally the reservations offices of Days Inn (Figure IV-4).

The years 1950-1970 also precipitated the demise of the small community grocery stores, once a focal point of daily life in Grove Heights. Most grocery stores had expired by the early 1960s, but the last one, located at the corner of Dance and Cox streets, closed in 1977 (Waggoner, 1983). Grove Heights residents began to shop at new, large suburban

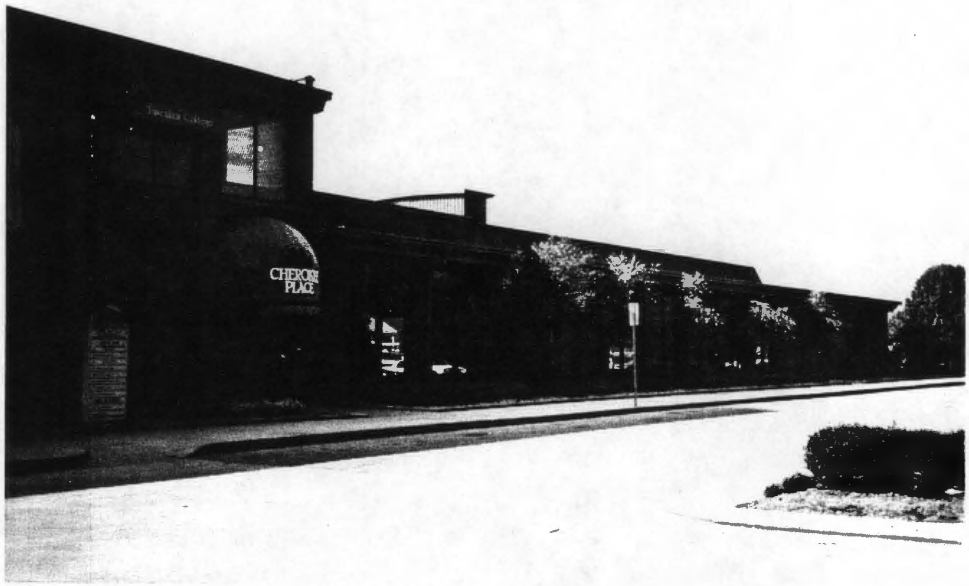


Figure IV-4. Former Cherokee Mills, recently converted to office space.

supermarkets, especially the Kroger and Food City stores about one mile southwest of Grove Heights on Kingston Pike. Large supermarkets brought lower food prices and greater variety, but according to survey respondents, the loss of small grocery stores in Marble City struck a blow to the charm of the neighborhood. A few new convenience stores were established along Sutherland Avenue, including the Bi-Lo just west of Liberty Street. However, most Grove Heights residents do not buy groceries there because prices are high.

Most of the residents remained throughout the changes in the community. Residents in the survey group had lived in the community an average of 44 years.[3] Forty-five percent had lived there for more than forty years. About half had grown up in Marble City, and one-fourth said both they and their parents grew up there. When the factories closed, residents took jobs in other areas of Knoxville but continued to live in Grove Heights. Most of the survey group work in west Knoxville, especially the Middlebrook Pike, Pleasant Ridge, and Lonsdale industrial areas. A few work at ARA Food Services and Empire Cartage (formerly Super Service Trucking).

Extended family relationships play a significant role in the stability of the community. Ties to family keep persons in Grove Heights even if they get jobs elsewhere, marry outside of the community, or become more prosperous. Several of the survey respondents had household incomes over $50,000 in 1990 but remained in the community because they wanted to be near family members. More than half of the survey respondents (55%) had lived in more than one house in Grove Heights, because they had grown up in the community and remained there after they married. Marriage among residents of the

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[3] This figure is for the fourteen survey respondents living in the Grove Heights subdivision. The six survey respondents in the Woodhill Trailer Court had lived in the block group and average of seven years.

community is common. Thirty percent of the survey households were families in which both husband and wife had grown up in Marble City.

Grove Heights' residents' attachment to place is reflected in the remarkably slow transformation from owner to renter occupation. Reagan Avenue is a typical street in Grove Heights in percentage of renter-occupied units. In 1988, only five of the forty dwellings on Reagan Avenue were renter-occupied. Rental units were scattered along the street, about one per block. Knott Avenue had the highest renter-occupancy rate in Grove Heights, with ten of the thirty-six dwellings renter-occupied (Knoxville, Tennessee Directory, 1989). Several rental properties are owned by one of the oldest families in the area, and many of the properties are occupied by single children of neighborhood families. Many of the households (50%) have family food gardens, adding to the rurality of the landscape (Figure IV-5a and IV-5b).

Kinship networks and attachment to place have helped to keep a few businesses in Grove Heights. Heading westbound on Sutherland toward Bearden one passes by Alma's Beauty Shop, Bob Mackey's Barber Shop, the South Knoxville Monument Company, and the Marble City Wood and Coal Yard, all of which are owned by residents of the community (Figures IV-6a and IV-6b).

In addition to keeping middle- and upper-income residents in the community, family networks help to provide economic support for poorer members of the community. Most of the more affluent residents provide some type of aid to lower-income ones, including buying groceries for them and hiring them to mow their lawns, clean their homes, and fix their cars. However, wealthier community members rarely make cash loans to those in need. They are more likely to take them into their homes until they can get back on their feet. Several of the needy families in the community were staying temporarily with other family members.





Figure IV-5. Grove Heights houses: (a) on Reagan Avenue; (b) on Dance Avenue.

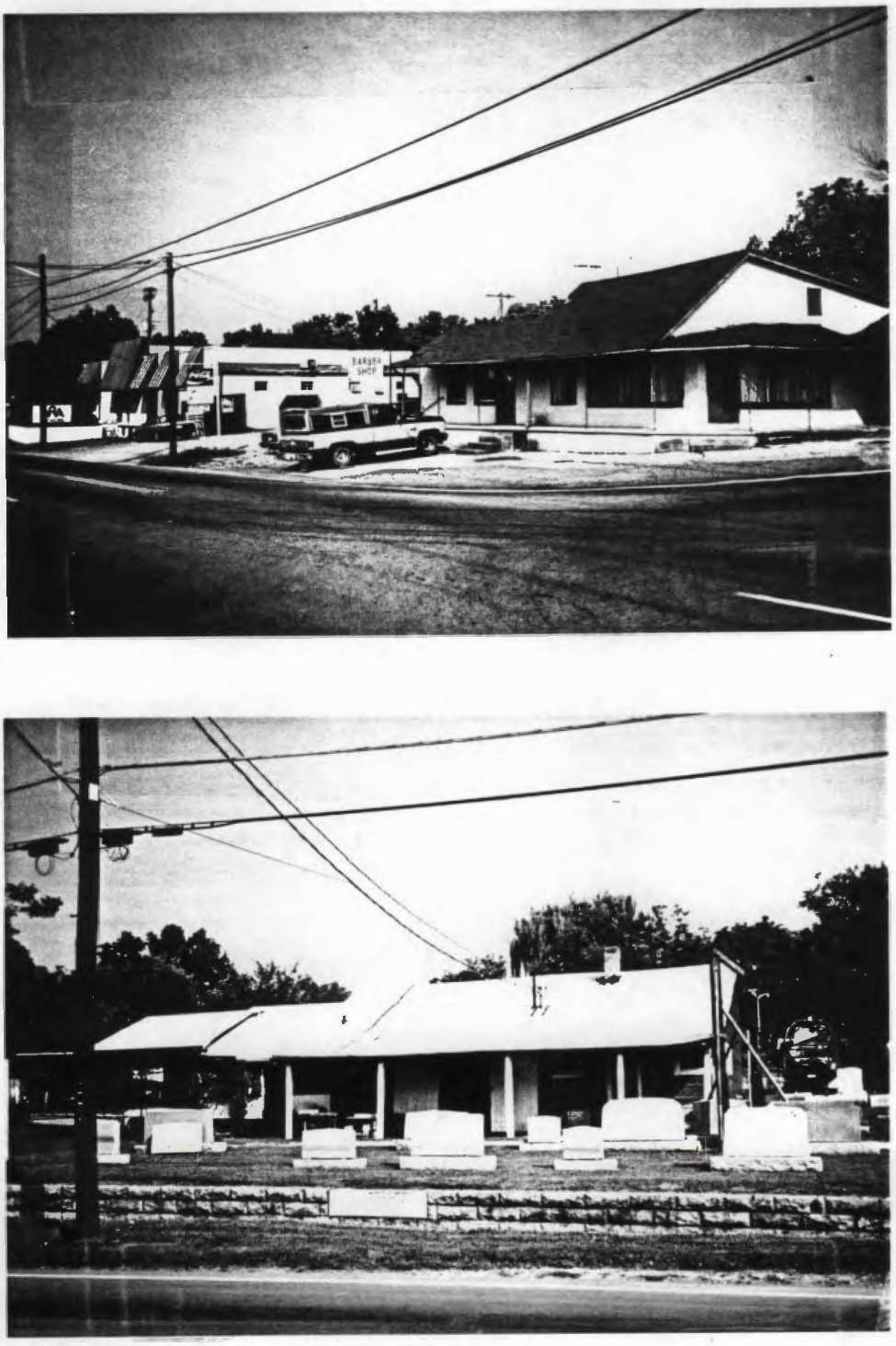


Figure IV-6. Grove Heights businesses on Sutherland Avenue.

Extended family relationships help to foster a sense of community in Grove Heights. As I surveyed the block group, my first sense of the place was one of community cohesion. Many people were sitting on their front porches or visiting with other members of the community. Attending church is also an important part of community life, and many residents (47%) attend churches in Grove Heights. When I asked residents why they enjoyed living in Grove Heights, many (55%) said that they liked the people. Responses such as "I know and trust everybody here," and "it's a community" were common.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 24

Sample area two is block group 5 in census tract 24, the Geyland Heights subdivision and several small subdivisions surrounding it, in Vestal (Figure IV-7). The block group in which Geyland Heights is situated is a community of 724 persons on the rural-urban fringe. It is bounded by Cherokee Trail to the north, Edington Road to the south, and the CSX Railroad to the east. Although the block group is part of Vestal, it is separated from other residential areas by the CSX and Norfolk-Southern Railroad tracks and several abandoned industrial buildings (Figure IV-8). To the south of Geyland Heights lies the South Hills neighborhood, an upper-middle-class white community. About half a mile to the southeast is Montgomery Village, a low-income public housing project. The area west of the block group is wooded and sparsely populated.

The hills surrounding the block group isolate it. The area is steeply sloped. Cherokee Trail traverses a hill which slopes to the Tennessee River on the north and Geyland Heights on the south. The difference in elevation from Cherokee Trail, at the top of the hill, to the point were Candora Road crosses the CSX railroad is 750 feet. Several less severe hills and depressions exist within the block group containing Geyland Heights.

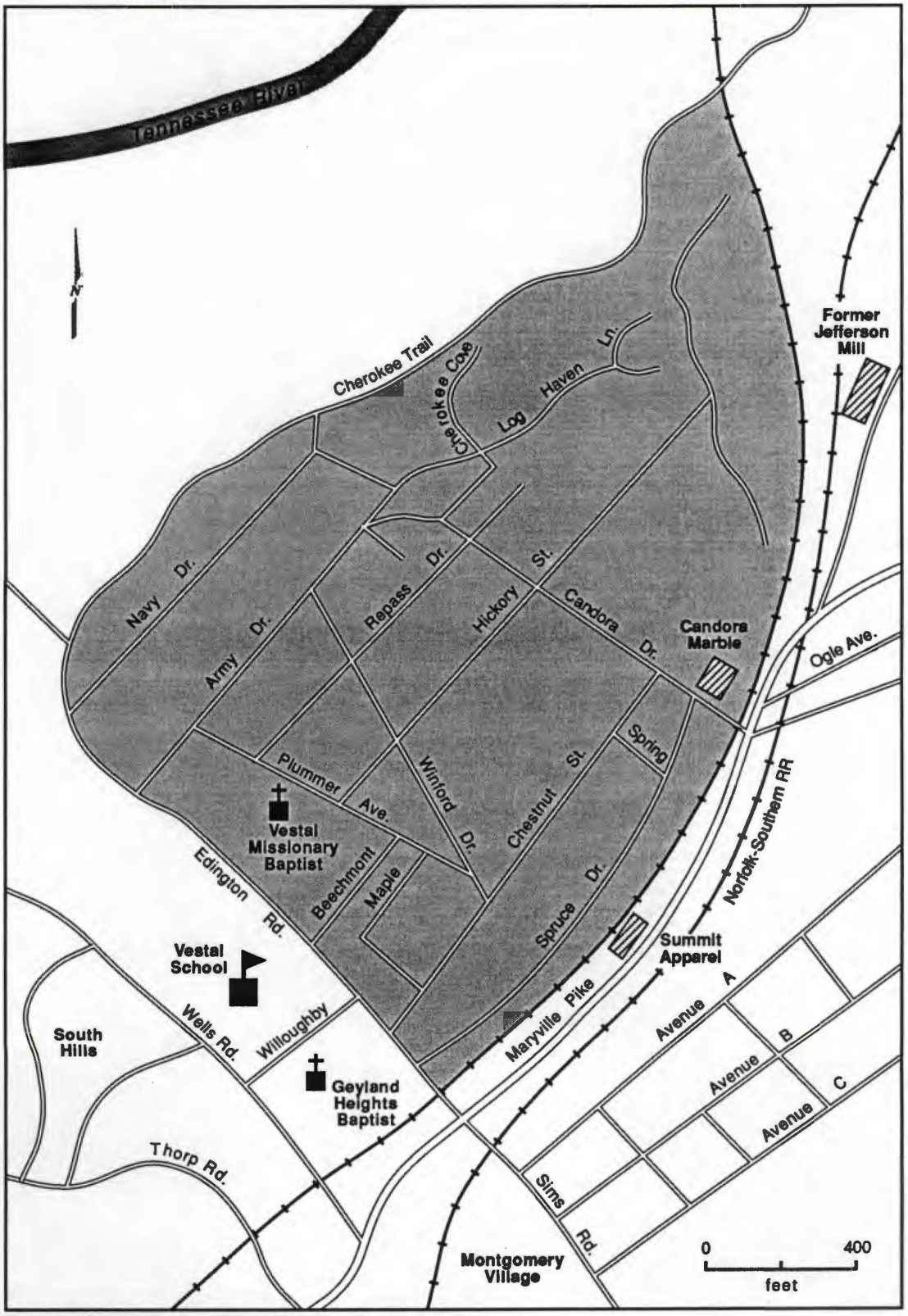


Figure IV-7. Block group 5 in census tract 24.

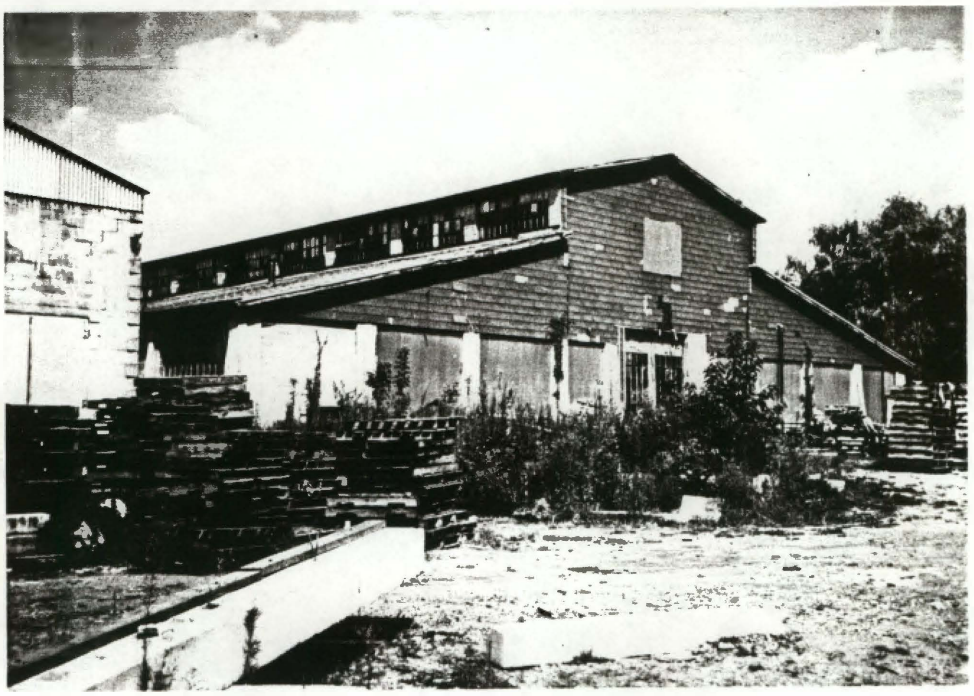


Figure IV-8. The abandoned Candora Marble Mill.

Geyland Heights and the subdivisions around it are comprised mostly of four-room houses and mobile homes on one-fourth acre lots (Figure IV-9a). At first glance, the landscape seems disorganized. The streets were laid out with no apparent attention to topography. Streets have sharp curves and snake up steep hills. Most are in disrepair with many potholes and no curbs or shoulders (Figure IV-9b). Because Geyland Heights is outside the city limits, the community does not receive public refuse service. Many lawns are littered with trash and used appliances.

This block group is one of the poorest in the study area. In 1979, nearly 42 percent of its population was below the poverty level. Like other white owner-occupied block groups, most of the population is white (99%) and lives in two-parent families (85%). The community is populated by younger families than most white owner-occupied block groups and has a lower percent of elderly persons (10%). Housing is more dilapidated than in other poor neighborhoods. More than ten percent of the dwellings do not have complete plumbing, and nearly five percent are crowded. Education levels are especially low. Only half of the persons over twenty five years of age are high school graduates, and more than 60 percent of teenagers are high school dropouts (Table IV-1).

Geyland Heights was developed in 1920 by Paul Hewling, a south Knoxvillian. Witnessing the development of several new industries along the L&N and Southern railroads, Hewling envisioned his property as an autonomous residential community for newly-arriving workers. The Candora Marble Mill, Vestal Lumber and Manufacturing Company, and Jefferson Woolen Mill were built between 1915 and 1920. Nearby were the Home Lumber Company and the Knoxville Fertilizer Company. In 1939 the five industries employed more than 600 persons (Hyde, 1939). Hewling subdivided his 320 acres of wooded property into 223 lots. He also built a church and a school to the south of

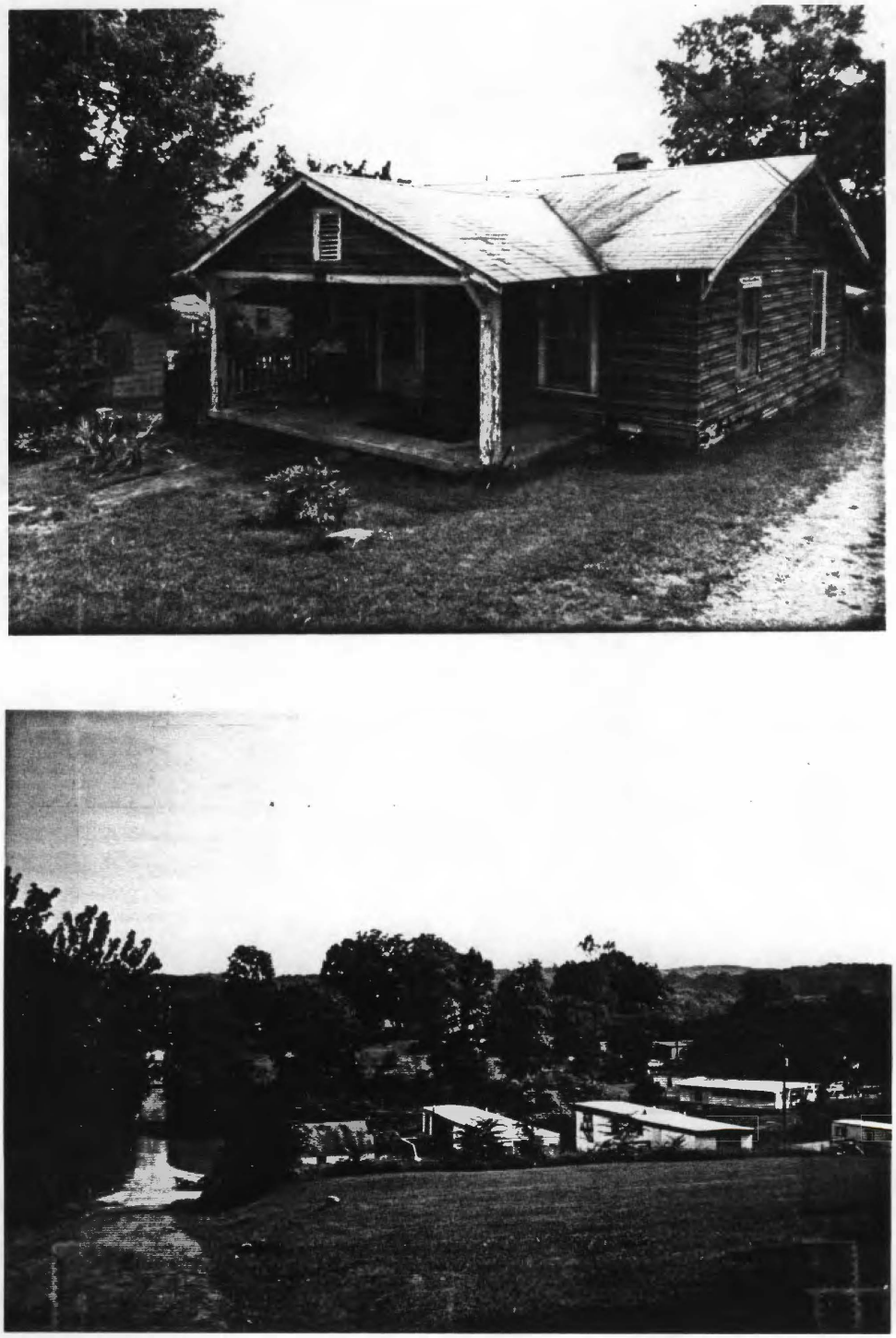


Figure IV-9. Geyland Heights houses: (a) on Plummer Avenue; (b) the view from Winford Drive

the community. The original development consisted of the streets east of Repass, north of Edington, and south of Candora.

Geyland Heights was settled by families from rural counties south of Knoxville. Migrants came by way of Sevierville Pike and Maryville Pike, both of which enter Knoxville from the south. Twenty-five percent of the families interviewed had lived in Geyland Heights since it was developed. All had come from Blount and Sevier counties. Most of the persons who migrated to Geyland Heights were members of extended families. Members of older families have memories of Geyland Heights as an close-knit community. "It was all kinfolks back then," stated an elderly resident.

Like Grove Heights, the early Geyland Heights community was autonomous. Residents worked, shopped, went to church and school, and got married in the community. The area contained several small grocery stores, primarily on Spruce Street and Plummer Avenue. The intersection of Maryville Pike and Ogle Avenue, one block east of Geyland Heights, was a commercial center (Knoxville, Tennessee Insurance Maps, 1924; Bodenheimer, 1991). Residents of the community attended the Geyland Heights Baptist Church on Willoughby, Immanual Baptist Church on Maryville Pike, and Vestal Missionary Baptist Church on Plummer Street (Figure IV-10). The Vestal School was next to Geyland Heights Church.

Geyland Heights' autonomy was due in part to its isolation. Not only was the community hidden from view by steep slopes and trees, it also was poorly connected to south Knoxville and the rest of the city. Years after Geyland Heights developed, the streetcar line that connected downtown Knoxville with Vestal ended on Maryville Pike, two miles north of the community. Highway 441, now a major route through South Knoxville, was an unpaved road until 1935 (Bodenheimer, 1991).



Figure IV-10. Vestal Missionary Baptist Church.

Like Grove Heights, Geyland Heights experienced changes in the post-World War II era. However, Geyland Heights' changes were imposed by both internal and external factors. During the war, a Geyland Heights resident developed a wooded thirty-seven acre tract just north of Repass St. He created Army and Navy Drives and platted one-acre lots, leaving many of the original trees. Several residents also built houses on vacant lots in the original Geyland Heights community. The new residences in both areas were filled primarily by people who had grown up in Geyland Heights. Many of the new home owners were children of original migrants who married and established their own households in the neighborhood. Twenty-five percent of the persons interviewed moved into their present homes between 1940 and 1960. Eighty percent had grown up in Vestal or Geyland Heights, and the remaining twenty percent had come from rural counties south of Knoxville.

As in Grove Heights, several of the industries near Geyland Heights closed in the 1960s. The Vestal Lumber and Manufacturing Company, which employed more than seventy-five workers, closed in 1961. Jefferson Woolen Mills, citing the country's increased import of textiles and consumer preference for synthetic materials, closed in 1966 (Dykes, 1977). The factory employed more than 300 persons.

The residents of Geyland Heights responded differently to factory closings than Grove Heights residents. Many of the laborers left the community when the mills shut down (Bodenheimer, 1991). The former manager of Jefferson Woolen Mills claimed that many of his former workers found employment in other east Tennessee textile mills and apparel plants including Hardwick Woolen Mill in Cleveland, Peerless Mill in Rossville, and the Levi's factory in Knoxville (Dykes, 1977). Of the interview group, only one person had worked at Jefferson Woolen Mills, and none had worked at Vestal Lumber Company.

The outmigration of the community's families seems to have been more of an emotional response than a need to find work. Soon after the old factories closed, new industries were established in the community. Within four years, the E. T. Barwick Company of Georgia, a carpet manufacturer, bought the Jefferson Woolen Mill complex. By 1970, the new carpet mill employed 325 persons (Dykes, 1977). Alpha Industries, a manufacturer of military uniforms, set up operations on Blount Avenue in 1960. As the carpet company, Alpha Industries found the location ideal. The site offered two sets of railroad tracks, cheap land, and a poor-white labor force. In 1986, Alpha Industries employed 386 non-union workers (Knoxville-Knox County Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1986).

The change in home ownership that occurred when many original inhabitants left Geyland Heights was not social filtering. The new families that moved into the neighborhood were of the same race and economic status as the ones that left. New families came mostly from other white working-class neighborhoods in South Knoxville. Twenty-percent of the survey group moved into Geyland Heights between 1961 and 1970. Sixty percent of those came from Vestal, other parts of South Knoxville, and Blount County. The others were from Inskip, Lonsdale, and Powell. Most came in as newlyweds or first-time home owners.

Several other events prompted further outmigration of Geyland Heights' original families. In 1973, Knoxville Community Development Corporation constructed the Montgomery Village low-income public housing project just south of Edington Road. Many Geyland Heights residents feared the influx of unknown persons, especially blacks. Montgomery Village, whose population is about 25 percent black, is the only enclave of blacks in the surrounding area. Also, in the late 1960s properties on Army and Navy Drives were rented to University of Tennessee students. At the same time, Cherokee Cove

was developed. Eight round houses were constructed on a dirt road off Army Drive and rented to students.

In the middle to late 1980s, one of the long-time residents of the community decided to rent houses to low-income tenants under Section 8 of the Housing Act of 1937. Like many of the Geyland Heights residents, this landlady can neither read nor write, but she worked through the South Knoxville Neighborhood Center to learn HUD Section 8 guidelines and find tenants (Maloy, 1991). By 1990, she owned 24 properties in the area, most of which were mobile homes on Hickory Street. The infusion of HUD subsidized housing has done more than the closing of factories to change the socioeconomic characteristics of the block group containing Geyland Heights. The landlady rents several of her properties to black families. Most of the renters are females who head households and receive some type of public assistance in addition to housing aid.

Over time, the commercial structure of Geyland Heights shifted from autonomy to specialization. The former commercial center at Maryville Pike and Ogle Avenue is now an enclave of contractors' offices and construction supply businesses, including Witt Bowers General Contractors, Miller Plumbing Company, and Don H. Tinsely Roofers. It also is the site of a flea market on weekends (Figure IV-11a). The junction of Edington Road and Maryville Pike supports a cluster of small grocery and liquor stores (Figure IV-11b). These stores serve the residents of Montgomery Village who do not have cars. Most residents of Geyland Heights do not go to these businesses because they are too high-priced.

The journey-to-work of Geyland Heights residents has expanded slightly. Only 15 percent of the persons surveyed worked in the Geyland Heights community, but 50 percent were employed in Vestal or other areas South Knoxville. An additional ten percent were employed at the Forks of the River Industrial Park, just south of the city. The site of

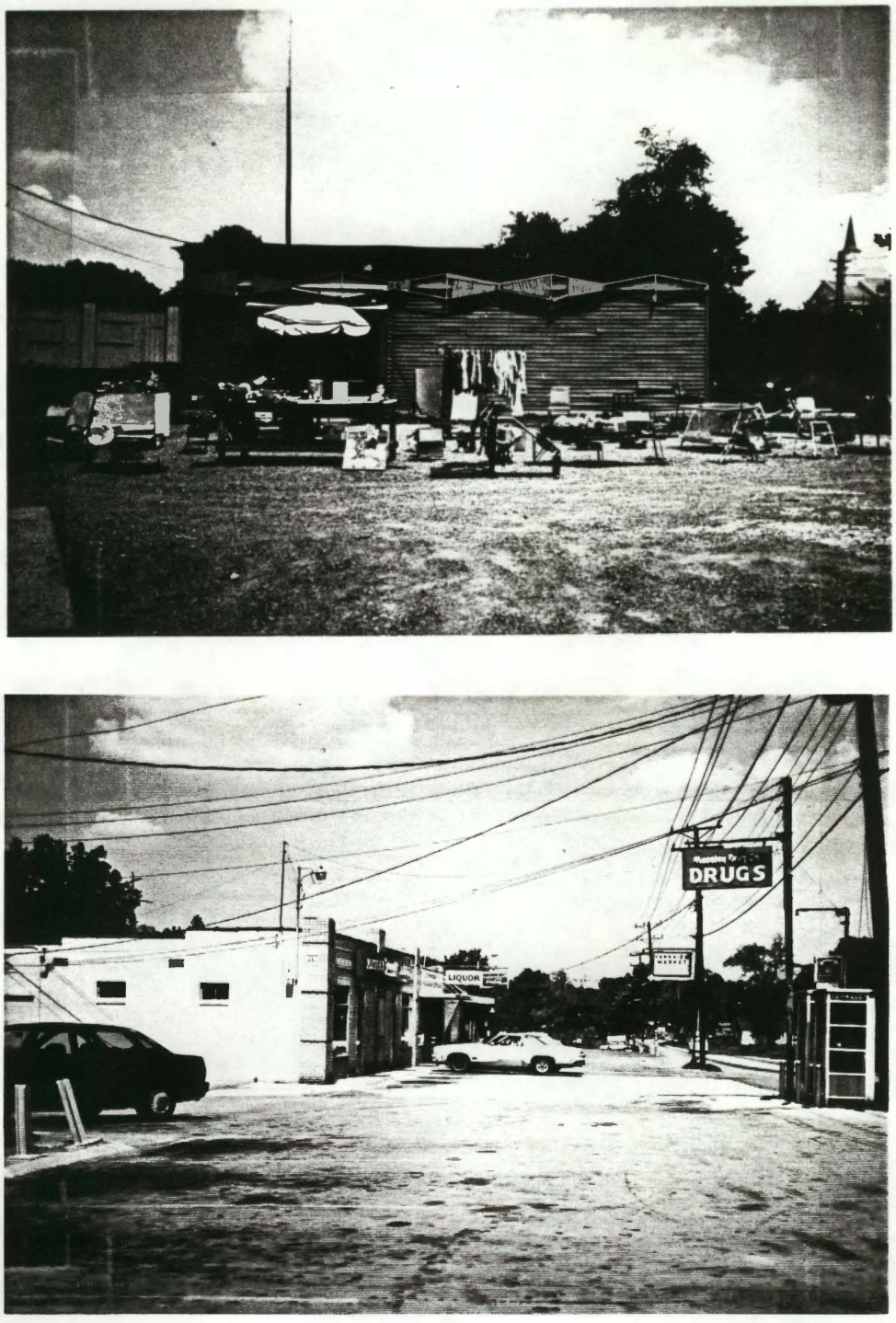


Figure IV-11. Geyland Heights businesses: (a) the corner of Maryville Pike and Ogle Avenue; (b) the junction of Maryville Pike and Edington Road.

Candora Marble, which operated until 1985, is now a storage area for old freight cars. Residents continue to go to church in Geyland Heights. However, the old Vestal school is closed, and in 1991 Doyle High, the high school that served the area, was consolidated with South-Young.

Geyland Heights still has a rural landscape. Of the residents surveyed, 60 percent planted family gardens. Because Geyland Heights is outside the city limits, laws on keeping farm animals are less stringent. The crow of roosters is a common sound in the neighborhood. Several residents stated that some of the roosters are used for cockfighting. Goats graze in the former Vestal School lot (Figure IV-12). Many residents have dogs. Fifteen of the households surveyed had at least one.

The Geyland Heights community is less tranquil than Grove Heights. Several residents told me not to visit at night. Residents were also much more vocal about community problems. Twenty-five percent were highly critical. One stated, "this is a bad neighborhood." Noise, crime, drunkeness, drugs, and violence were cited as major problems. Some residents complained about things traditionally associated with rural Appalachia, including "junk" in yards (25%), dilapidated houses (20%), family feuds (15%), and too many animals, especially roosters and dogs (15%).

Although Geyland Heights has experienced an emigration of many families, kinship networks are still significant. Seventy percent of the persons interviewed had family members in the community. Many of the families are descendants of the original occupants. As in Grove Heights, the people live in small households. Three-fourths of the homes surveyed were one- and two-person households, and none had more than four persons. Like the residents of Grove Heights, the old families provide structure and stability for the community. Most old families have higher incomes than those that have recently moved to the area. Old families act as neighborhood "watchdogs" by caring for

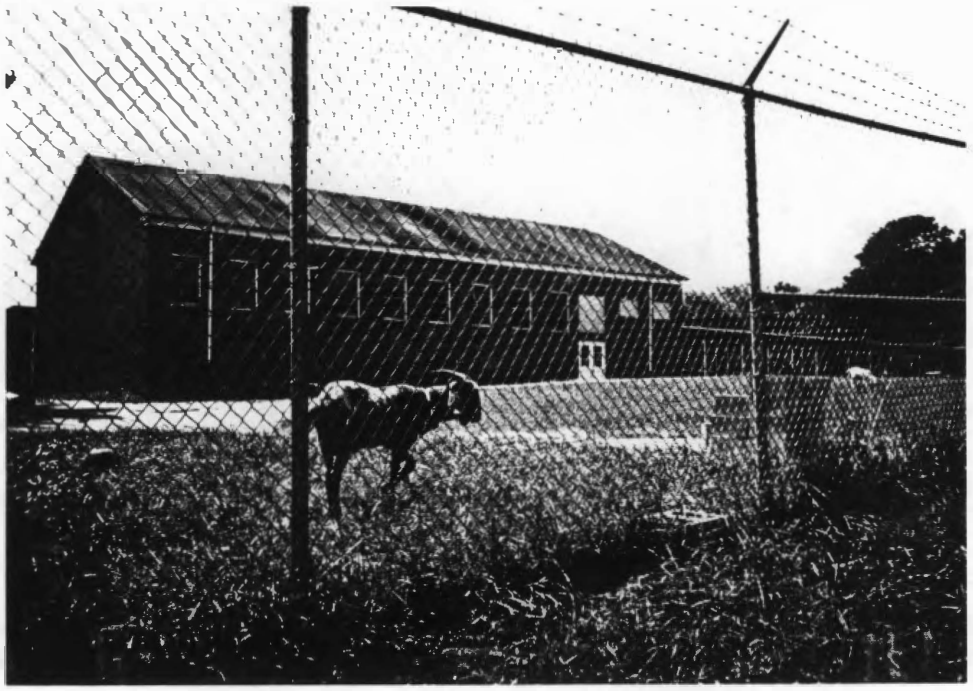


Figure IV-12. Goats grazing on the former Vestal School lot.

elderly and reporting illegal activity to the police.

Block Group 5 in Census Tract 15

Sample area three is block group 5 in census tract 15, most of the Oakwood subdivision in north Knoxville.[4] An area of 861 persons, block group 15 is located approximately two miles north of Knoxville's central business district. Central Avenue, a commercial strip and major route from the central business district, is the western boundary of Oakwood. The area is bounded by Harvey Street on the east, the Norfolk-Southern Railroad on the north, and Oglewood Avenue on the south. The community is a relatively level area about half a mile south of Sharps Ridge (Figure IV-13).

Oakwood is situated in a lower middle-class residential area. It is the only block group in census tract 15 in which more than twenty percent of the population was below the poverty level in 1979. Other communities surrounding Oakwood include the Old North Knoxville Historic District to the south and Lincoln Park and Lonsdale to the north. Other than the Central Avenue commercial area, Oakwood is residential. Two churches, a fire department and a school are located in the subdivision. Several commercial and industrial firms line the Norfolk-Southern Railroad along Oakwood's northern boundary, including the Silver Furniture Company and T&S Ice Cream Distributors. Oakwood is near two institutions that serve the community and employ some of its residents. St. Mary's Hospital is three blocks south and Fulton High School is about three-fourths of a mile to the east.

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[4] The original Oakwood subdivision contained two streets, Columbia and Churchwell, which are not included in block group 5.

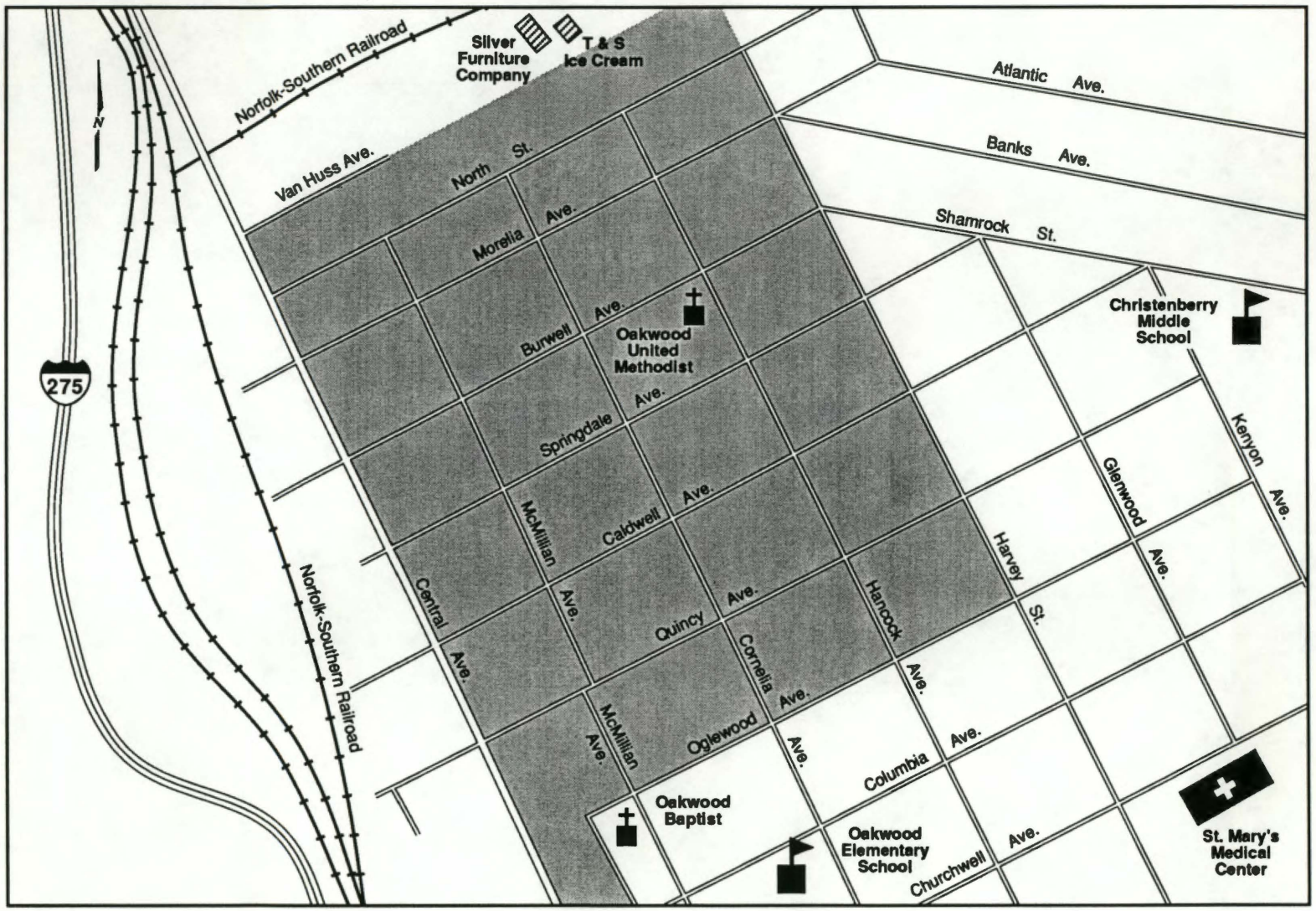


Figure IV-13. Block group 5 in census tract 15.

Oakwood has changed since the 1980 census. According to the 1980 census, the residents of the block group that contains most of Oakwood were white (100%), living primarily in two-parent families (85%), more educated than residents in Grove Heights or Geyland Heights (64% of persons 25 and over had graduated high school), and not particularly reliant on public assistance (9%) (Table IV-1). However, my surveys indicate that in 1990 more residents received public assistance (30%) and fewer residents were high school graduates (55%) (Appendix 3). Recently, black families and female headed households have moved into the community.

Oakwood was the brainchild of C.B. Atkin, a prominent manufacturer of furniture and hardwood mantels (Kane, 1984). In 1901, Atkin bought a 112-acre wooded tract located just east of the Southern Railway Coster Shops with the idea of creating a residential community. Unlike Grove Heights and Geyland Heights, Atkin's land was not at the outer limits of Knoxville. His property was a vacant parcel between residential areas around the central business district and pockets of settlement just south of Sharps Ridge. Communities north of his property included Lincoln Park and Lonsdale (Kane, 1984).

Atkin envisioned his subdivision as a residential haven that would provide respite from the working class neighborhoods of Knoxville. He made a conscious effort to show that Oakwood would not be like the communities around Brookside Mills and other factories of Knoxville. His publicity brochures boldly stated, "No shacks will be allowed in Oakwood" (Atkin, 1905). He wanted his subdivision to attract what Kane called "the labor elite," blue-collar workers who were higher on the socioeconomic ladder than most of Knoxville's industrial class (Kane, 1984).

In contrast to the developers of Geyland Heights and Grove Heights, Atkin planned all of the features of his community. He designed the streets to run parallel with Central Avenue. He laid the streets and lots out in a checkerboard pattern. Each lot had the same

dimensions (50 x 140 feet), and each block had the same number of lots. Atkin installed all of the community's infrastructure, and built many of the 330 houses (Kane, 1984). He even set aside large lots on the north along the Southern Railway for industrial uses. By 1917, the W.O. Sland Glass Company, the Oakwood Coal and Fuel Company, and Atkin's Oakwood Manufacturing Company were located there. Atkin also planned a church and school for the community (Figures IV-14a-b).

Atkin's meticulous care in the design of Oakwood is exemplified in the mix of house types. He planned the community so that each street would be comprised of persons of the same socioeconomic status. Some streets were designated as high-status ones, while others were more modest. Houses on Oglewood (Figure IV-15a) were the least expensive, and those on Churchwell (Figure IV-15b) were the most expensive. All of the homes were clapboard bungalows with front and back porches. (Figure IV-16). Each house was set back exactly twenty-five feet from the street so that the fronts were parallel.

The original inhabitants of Oakwood were a mixture of persons from Knoxville's older industrial neighborhoods, rural areas close to the city, and other rural areas of Appalachia. Kane traced the origin of families living in Oakwood between 1902 and 1917. He found that 23.6 percent of the families that first settled Oakwood were from Knoxville. Most were from the residential communities south of Oakwood and north of the CBD. Others came from the industrial areas around First and Second Creeks. Few came from South Knoxville and Mechanicsville. Sixteen percent were from areas just outside the Knoxville city limits. The remaining 60 percent did not have Knoxville addresses prior to their move to Oakwood. Kane suggested that most of this group lived in rural areas just beyond the Knoxville municipal limits (Kane, 1984).

Most of the early inhabitants of Oakwood were skilled blue-collar workers. In 1917, more than half of those employed worked at the Southern Railway Coster Shops.

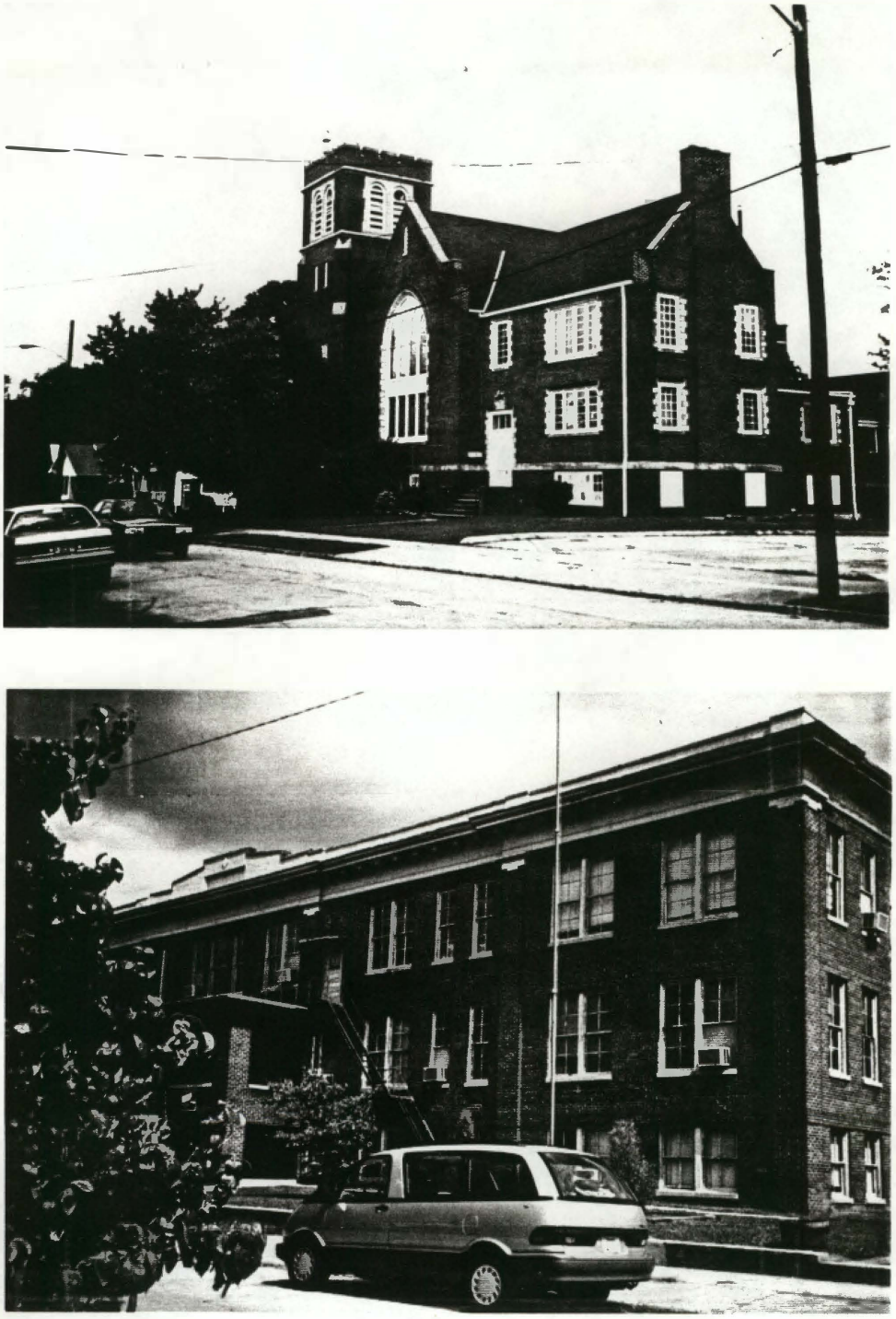


Figure IV-14. Oakwood institutional uses: (a) Oakwood Methodist church; (b) Oakwood Elementary School.

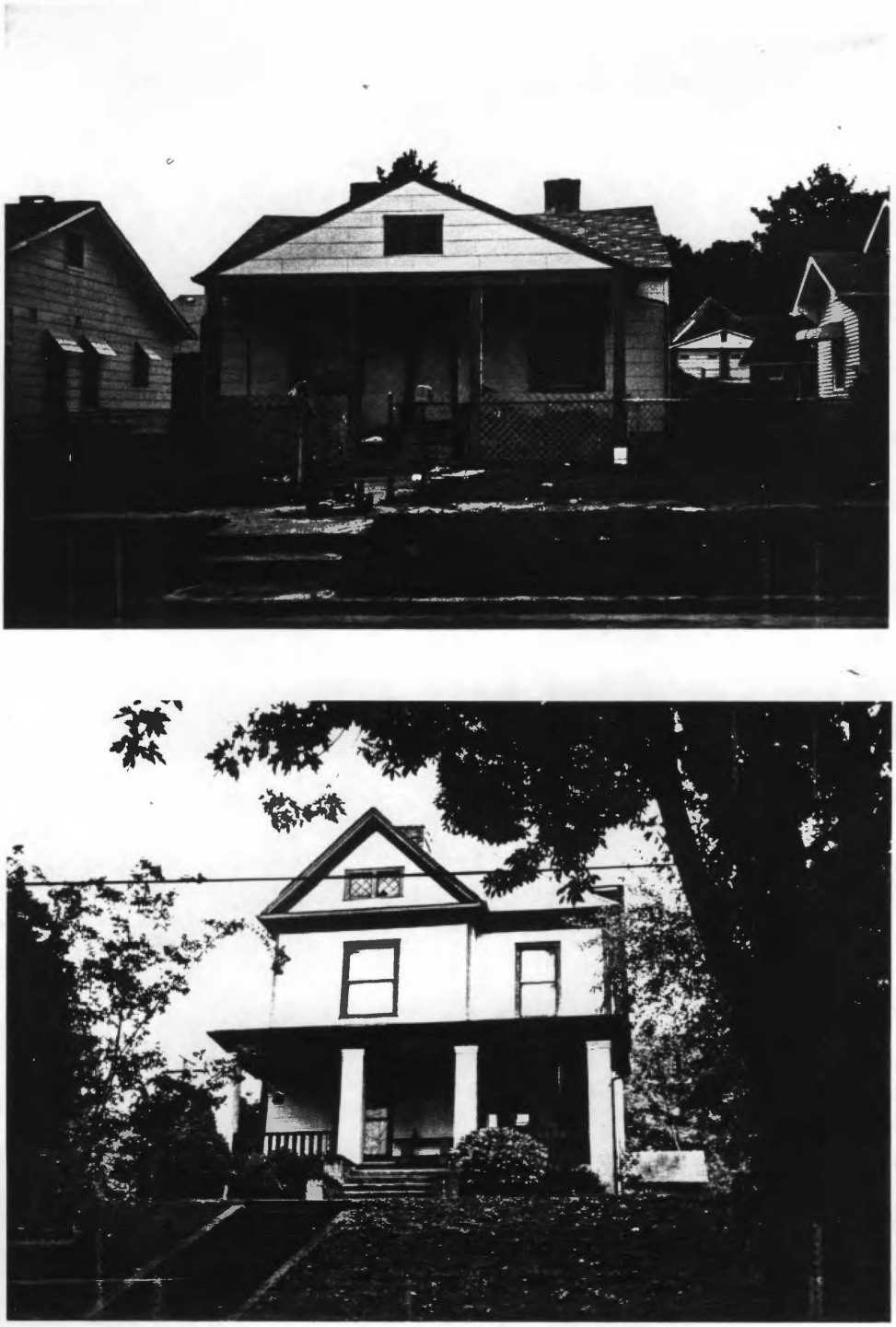


Figure IV-15. Oakwood houses: (a) on Oglewood Avenue; (b) on Churchwell Avenue.



Figure IV-16. Typical Oakwood house on Burwell Avenue.

Others worked at factories in the Second Creek industrial area and at Brookside Mills. All of the inhabitants were white (Kane, 1984).

Kane's study found that Oakwood was not particularly stable in its early years. One thousand families lived in the 330 houses between 1902 and 1917. Each dwelling was occupied by an average of three families during the fifteen year period. Atkin's records indicate that in 1910 more than half of the houses in Oakwood were rental properties (Kane, 1984). Such a housing turnover suggests that Atkin's community was not the residential haven that he had hoped it would be.

Housing turnover has continued throughout Oakwood's existence. Rate of housing turnover in Oakwood is illustrated by the changes that took place on Burwell Avenue between 1940 and 1990. In 1940, 52 percent of the 65 houses on the street were renter occupied. Four of the houses on Burwell had been subdivided into two-unit apartments (Figure IV-17). Rates of owner occupancy increased slightly in the post war years, but houses continued to be subdivided. By 1980, 65 percent of the units on Burwell were renter occupied, and eight additional houses had been made into multi-unit apartments.

Oakwood has undergone a continual process of social filtering. An examination of the occupations of the persons living in the survey houses in 1940 revealed that half of the householders worked in industry, most as foremen, managers, or engineers. Others were salesmen (15%), or in managerial positions (15%). Only one of the twenty was retired, and none were unemployed. In 1990, only 50 percent of the survey households contained an employed person. Fifteen percent of household heads were unemployed, ten percent were disabled, and 25 percent were retired. Many of the employed persons work in maintenance jobs (37%) especially at St. Mary's Hospital. Other common jobs are truck driver (10%), cashier (10%), and painter (10%). Only 10 percent worked in manufacturing, all as laborers. (Knoxville, Tennessee Directory, 1940).



Figure IV-17. Oakwood rental units on Burwell Avenue.

Most of the contemporary residents have lived in the community for relatively short periods. Half of the survey respondents had lived in Oakwood less than ten years. Fifteen percent had been there less than one year. Oakwood is occupied by many persons from outside East Tennessee. Of the survey group, twenty percent had migrated to Tennessee. They came from as far away as Pennsylvania, California, and Texas. Some were children of parents who had moved to Knoxville. Most of the out-of-state immigrants were from urban areas, including Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Reno, and Austin (Table IV-2). Some of the properties are Section 8 "existing" rental properties.

The businesses along Central Avenue have also undergone transformation. Twelve of the 52 buildings between Warren and Coram streets are vacant. The area has become a strip of auto repair shops and types of businesses associated with poor neighborhoods, including used furniture stores and thrift shops (Figures IV-18a &b). There are seven auto repair shops and sales lots and nine construction related business.

Oakwood is not populated by large numbers of extended families. More than 80 percent of the survey respondents in Oakwood have no family members outside of their households living in the community. However, in 35 percent of the houses members of an extended family live within a single house. Single-parent siblings living in the same home with their children was especially common (20%) as were multi-generation households (20%). One household consisted of a young married couple, their three children, two children from a wife's previous marriage, and the husband's parents. The residential pattern in Oakwood suggests that kin relationships are strong but community relationships are not. Family members live together but do not have kinship connections to other members of the community. Only ten percent of survey respondents have lived in Oakwood all of their lives.

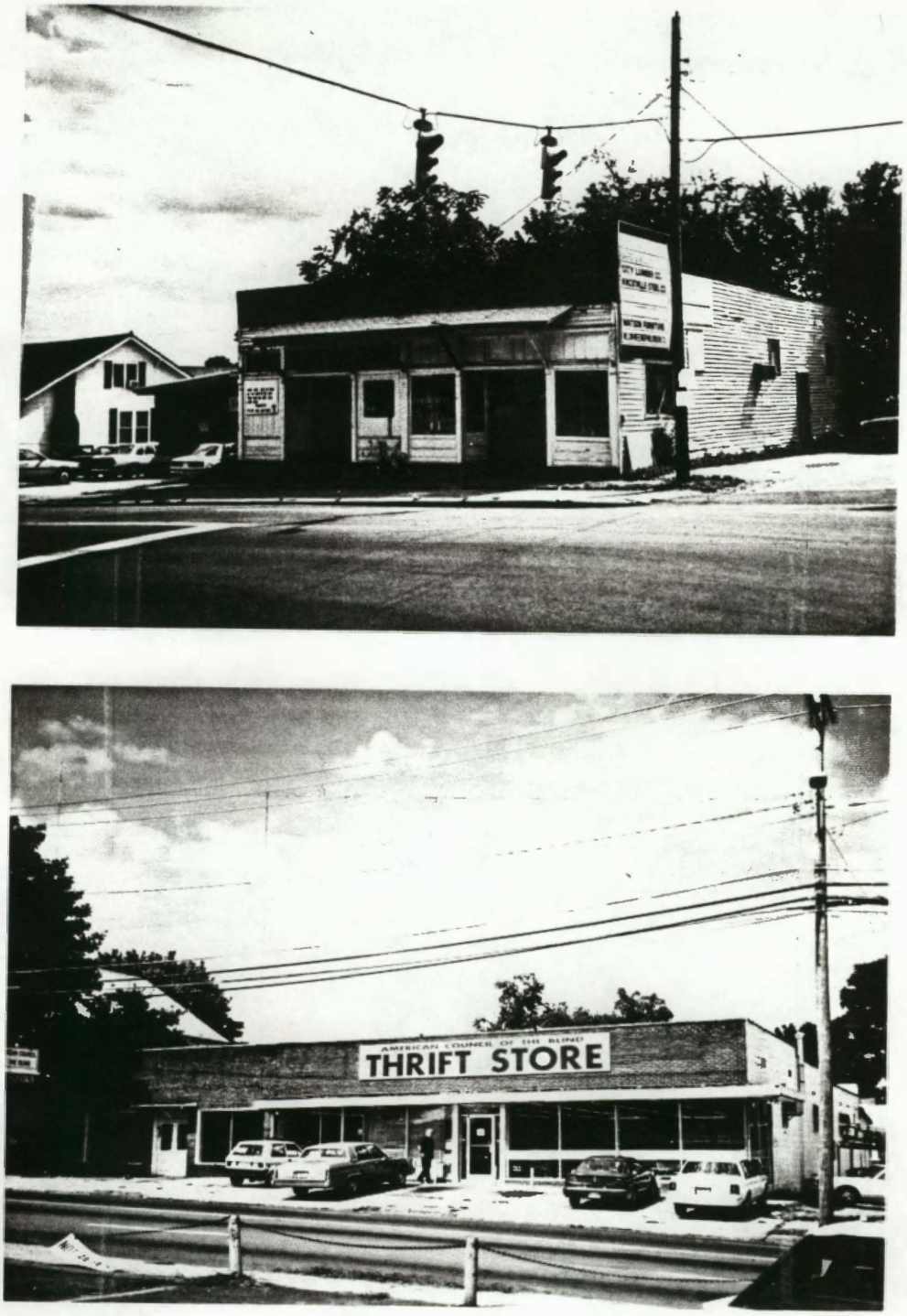


Figure IV-18. Oakwood businesses on Central Avenue.

When I asked Oakwood residents what they liked about the community, most replied, "Its location." Oakwood is within seven blocks of a large grocery store and close to elementary, middle, and high schools. In contrast to the residents of Geyland Heights and Grove Heights, no one cited the neighborhood's inhabitants as one of the positive aspects of Oakwood. In fact, 25 percent of the respondents cited fellow residents as one of the things they did not like about the community (Appendix 3).

B. CONCLUSIONS

The three sample white owner-occupied block groups examined in this chapter are similar. Their residents are predominantly white, members of two-parent families, less educated than residents of most other types of poor block groups, employed, and not likely to receive public assistance. Historical documents show that all three of the sample block groups began as communities for workers in Knoxville's industries that developed along rail lines at least two miles from the central business district. The communities were populated primarily by whites from other industrial neighborhoods and rural areas surrounding Knoxville. They were autonomous communities with churches and schools for residents. Grove Heights and Geyland Heights also had stores and service shops.

Responses to survey questionnaires show that work patterns have expanded in all of the sample block groups. When the communities first developed, most residents worked at nearby industries, usually within walking distance of the community. In 1991, less than 26 percent of the residents worked in the block group in which they lived. Shopping patterns have also expanded. Residents who previously shopped at small neighborhood stores now shop at large supermarkets located outside the block groups. Although each block group contains at least one convenience store, residents rarely shop at

them. Patterns of church attendance have expanded less. In Geyland Heights, 79 percent of households attend churches in the community. Forty-seven percent of households in Grove Heights attend local churches.

Survey questionnaires show that family links are important in the sample block groups. In Oakwood, extended families comprise 35 percent of households. In Geyland Heights and Grove Heights, persons are more likely to live in single-family households but have relatives in the community. In all of the study block groups, family members have important economic support roles. In Oakwood, seven survey households consisted of families sharing a dwelling to reduce living expenses. In Grove Heights and Geyland Heights, persons interviewed mentioned that they had provided temporary shelter for poorer family members, bought them groceries, or paid them to perform small tasks.

Oakwood has a higher proportion of its population from outside the Knoxville MSA and has fewer long-term community residents than Grove Heights and Geyland Heights. These characteristics suggest that Oakwood is a more anonymous neighborhood than the other two. Many Oakwood residents do not have strong ties to their community. Twenty-five percent of Oakwood survey respondents said they would leave Oakwood as soon as they could find a house or apartment in another area of Knoxville. Residents were neither extremely happy nor dissatisfied with Oakwood as a community. More than 85 percent said that Oakwood was a "fair" place to live.

Grove Heights and Geyland Heights are comfortable communities for residents and foreboding places for outsiders. Extended family relationships are important in both areas. Houses are small, but much of the community is a "shared landscape" with persons talking in the streets, working on cars, gardening, or sitting on porches. Extended family members know most other community members and are suspicious of outsiders. These

communities are not likely to attract persons from other neighborhoods, but are comfortable places for residents.

Grove Heights and Geyland Heights are more rural in appearance than Oakwood. The fact that Grove Heights and Geyland Heights developed as communities on the urban fringe, while Oakwood developed between two extant urban neighborhoods, may explain Oakwood's more urban landscape. In Oakwood, only ten percent of households have food gardens, and lots contain little vegetation other than lawns, trees, and a few sparse shrubs. In contrast, half of the households in Grove Heights and 60 percent of those in Geyland Heights have gardens. In both of these block groups many lots are overgrown, many old cars and appliances litter yards, and farm animals are present.

This study suggests that extended families play an important role in maintaining the vitality of a community. In both Grove Heights and Geyland Heights, extended family ties keep prosperous family members in the communities. Each community contains at least four households whose incomes were more than $30,000 in 1990. Although Oakwood was the least poor of the three block groups in percent of persons below the poverty line, it had a lower median income level in 1979 than Grove Heights. Twice as many residents are poor in Geyland Heights, but its median income was only $100 dollars less than that of Oakwood (Appendix 1). Similarly, extended family relationships encourage owner-occupation and community investment in poor areas. In Grove Heights, 78 percent of households own their dwellings. Only 53 percent of households in Geyland Heights do. However, many Geyland Heights householders rent mobile homes (24) from one long-term resident of the community. In both Geyland Heights and Grove Heights, affluent residents operate local businesses.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study demonstrates that the underclass consensus is limited in its ability to describe and explain poor neighborhoods in the urbanized area of Knoxville, Tennessee. The body of underclass research suggests that poor neighborhoods are populated by minorities and female-headed families, plagued by welfare dependency and unemployment, and comprised of dilapidated rental houses and apartments. In contrast, most of the persons living in poor neighborhoods in Knoxville's urbanized area are white (69%), members of two-parent families (82%), employed (94%), and not dependent on public assistance (83%). Thirty-one percent of households in poor block groups are owner-occupied (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983c).

Many underclass studies focus on large northeastern or midwestern cities (Auletta, 1982; Lemann, 1986; Wilson, 1987) or employ agglomerated statistics for the 100 largest cities in the United States (Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988; Levy, 1977; Clark and Nathan, 1986). As a medium-sized Appalachian city, Knoxville was settled by different groups of people, has a different economic structure, and has a different landscape than northeastern and midwestern cities. As a result, poverty and poor neighborhoods in Knoxville deviate from the those described by the underclass consensus.

The racial composition of Knoxville's poor block groups is the result of the city's location and the nature of its industrialization. Knoxville was never populated by large numbers of blacks or Hispanics. The Upland South was not a plantation region and was never heavily populated by rural blacks. Knoxville's industrialization emphasized the textile and apparel industries which utilized whites as their labor force. Manufacturing jobs, the magnets that attracted blacks and Hispanics to urban areas in the Northeast and

Midwest, were never abundantly available to minorities in Knoxville. Throughout Knoxville's history, most of its low-paying jobs have been filled by Appalachian whites (McDonald and Wheeler, 1983). In 1980, only 13 percent of the population of Knoxville's urbanized area was non-white.

Knoxville did not experience the high unemployment rates that cities in the Midwest did in the 1980s (US Bureau of the Census, 1983a). In 1979, only 5.6 percent of the labor force in southern cities was unemployed for 15 or more weeks. In contrast, 7.4 percent of the labor force in northeastern cities and 6.5 percent in midwestern cities was unemployed for 15 or more weeks. Only 10.2 percent of Knoxville's labor force was unemployed, while the unemployment rate was more than 16 percent in Chicago. Like other southern cities, Knoxville actually attracted new firms and experienced increased employment in the late 1970s and the 1980s. In addition, Knoxville hosted the 1982 World's Fair, which provided low-wage jobs in construction and food services (Dodd, 1988). Most of Knoxville's poor are employed in low-wage jobs, not unemployed. These findings concur with Morrill and Wohlenberg's study which suggested southern cities are more likely to be plagued by underemployment than unemployment (Morrill and Wohlenberg, 1973).

This study demonstrates that Knoxville's housing stock is younger, less dilapidated, and more likely to be owner-occupied than that in cities in the Northeast and Midwest. Like many other southern cities, Knoxville did not industrialize until the late 1800s, later than most northeastern and midwestern cities. Much of Knoxville's industrial and residential growth occurred between 1880 and 1930, as people migrated to the city from surrounding rural areas. Many of Knoxville's early industries located along railroad tracks and stream valleys several miles from the central business district. The Jefferson Woolen Mill and the Candora Marble Mill to the south, the Cherokee Textile Mill and the Padgett and Knox-Grey marble companies to the west, and the Brookside Mill to the

northwest of the central business district are examples. The factories' locations allowed workers to live near the plants. Like industrial communities in northeastern and midwestern cities, those in Knoxville, including Marble City, Vestal, and Beaumont, became poor neighborhoods. However, their landscapes consist of small, workers' cottages, not the tenements and row-homes characteristic of cities in the Northeast and Midwest.

This study indicates that research conducted at the census tract level may misrepresent the location and distribution of poverty. A census tract scale analysis shows that most of Knoxville's poor areas are located adjacent to the central business district and in corridors stretching from the central business district toward the suburbs. Such a distribution is similar to that described by urban poverty theory.(Burgess, Park and McKenzie, 1925; Hoyt ,1937; and Bunge 1975) and by recent underclass research (Auletta, 1982; Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988). However, analysis at the block group level reveals that much of Knoxville's inner city is not poor and that many small enclaves of poverty are located in affluent census tracts several miles from the central business district.

This study also demonstrates that poor neighborhoods are not just places that are "left behind." From the work of Burgess, Park, and McKenzie in 1925 through the recent underclass studies by Lemann and Wilson in 1986 and 1987, urban poverty researchers have postulated that neighborhoods are poor because all of the persons and businesses that can afford to leave do so. In Knoxville, several examples exist in which decisions by developers and politicians created poor neighborhoods. By building Montgomery Village and Christenberry Heights, the Knoxville Community Development Corporation established pockets of intense poverty in north Knoxville and Vestal. Neither was particularly affluent before the projects were constructed. By locating the projects in these areas, KCDC created places in which values of existing dwellings were suppressed and

future development was unlikely. The public housing projects changed the landscapes of the surrounding neighborhoods and redistributed poor persons in the Knoxville urbanized area.

Poor neighborhoods with concentrations of student apartments are also largely the products of decisions by developers and public officials. The administration of the University of Tennessee made a concerted effort to make the West Sutherland Avenue area a satellite community of low-income married students. Between 1956 and 1970 the Board of Trustees approved several plans for high-density apartments in the area. In addition to the 800 apartment units already owned by the university, the board attempted to purchase the nearby Longview Apartments and to construct a trailer court (University of Tennessee, 1956-1970).

Knoxville's owner-occupied poor neighborhoods are not places "left behind" either. The city's black owner-occupied communities, especially those in East Knoxville, contain households with a diversity of income levels, sometimes in the space of a single block. Likewise, most residents of white owner-occupied neighborhoods live in them by choice. Several residents of Grove Heights stated that the area was "the best neighborhood in Knoxville outside of Sequoyah Hills."

Finally, this study suggests that the types of neighborhoods created by rural Appalachians who migrated to Knoxville differ from those created by rural Appalachians who migrated to midwestern cities. Fowler (1981) found that Appalachian enclaves in midwestern cities were located in low-income areas near central business districts. In contrast, this study demonstrates that white owner-occupied and mixed land use block groups in Knoxville served as points of entry for rural Appalachians. Many of the white owner-occupied block groups are located several miles from the central business district. Also, migrants to Knoxville often purchased or built homes rather than renting them.

Adams (1971) suggested that many rural migrants initially settled in poor neighborhoods but usually moved to higher-income ones as they became more affluent. This study finds that many of the descendants of Knoxville's migrants continue to live in the industrial communities that attracted their ancestors.

Griffen (1956) suggested that "extended kinship systems, lack of formal organizations, religious fundamentalism, and low education levels and high drop-out rates" are rural Appalachian traits. Schwarzweller (1981) and Long (1974) found that Appalachians in midwestern cities have lost most of these traits and blended into the urban fabric. This study demonstrates that in Knoxville some rural migrants and their descendants, especially ones residing in white owner-occupied block groups, have maintained characteristics typical of rural Appalachia. Communities like Grove Heights and Geyland Heights still attest their connection to Knoxville's Appalachian hinterland.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
CLUSTER ANALYSIS INPUT DATA SET

In City	Tract	Block Group	% Non-White	% Female Headed Households	% School Dropouts (16-19)	% School Graduates (25+)	% working disabilities (16-64)	% Poor (persons)	% of Higher Median Income	% Unemp. 15+ wks. (16+)	% Social Security (hseholds)	%Public Assist (hseholds)
+	1	4	5.70	3.87	37.21	87.68	4.23	30.54	30.65	8.23	7.34	1.69
+	1	5	8.97	5.13	100.00	56.32	39.90	51.12	21.44	28.90	19.23	10.26
+	1	6	14.25	0.37	-	82.81	82.13	58.98	15.74	2.82	69.26	14.44
+	2	1	1.87	13.38	100.00	55.91	14.32	82.89	29.18	12.50	37.17	17.10
+	2	2	9.78	3.39	53.33	44.33	36.97	89.57	25.86	25.29	20.34	20.34
+	2	3	7.94	14.29	35.71	68.75	33.33	41.27	20.52	0.00	14.29	0.00
+	2	4	12.00	5.95	-	65.31	38.84	44.00	31.42	5.63	13.10	8.33
+	2	5	2.11	21.80	73.68	43.40	19.37	28.50	37.63	0.00	64.80	52.80
+	2	6	0.00	7.89	100.00	10.26	40.00	22.54	29.31	0.00	12.82	20.51
+	3	2	2.60	13.51	28.09	44.43	23.06	52.05	19.49	0.00	67.32	25.55
+	3	3	0.43	12.09	26.19	82.86	21.86	32.81	32.27	9.72	47.71	10.78
+	3	4	1.95	11.57	0.00	87.53	18.24	30.80	32.97	5.44	39.55	3.36
+	4	1	8.53	16.89	100.00	63.17	11.15	32.20	36.82	1.54	39.27	21.92
+	5	2	70.33	12.56	0.00	49.93	33.59	33.21	19.97	3.33	59.59	28.35
+	6	1	97.06	33.39	15.44	82.81	30.65	83.44	15.82	10.46	40.10	48.64
+	6	2	97.76	34.39	0.00	80.94	9.53	23.91	36.67	11.72	16.05	24.84
+	6	3	76.89	16.71	0.00	59.43	12.53	40.51	21.63	7.45	59.35	24.44
+	6	4	96.01	42.01	0.00	66.40	6.27	35.92	42.31	13.30	15.98	21.89
+	7	1	99.49	61.26	24.14	72.04	9.43	63.25	13.75	6.52	22.90	44.76
+	7	3	13.62	5.33	0.00	71.26	12.29	32.89	28.21	2.85	36.82	7.19
+	8	1	4.59	11.98	8.24	82.61	12.29	20.74	44.51	2.84	32.03	8.56
+	8	3	3.44	8.95	42.86	79.42	5.47	30.42	37.50	1.89	21.93	4.26
+	9	2	24.44	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	22.16	40.23	0.00	500.00	0.00
+	9	3	9.35	1.27	0.24	100.00	1.59	22.52	36.05	7.76	16.55	4.36
+	10	2	9.45	5.37	0.00	66.76	4.69	29.37	42.16	4.86	23.17	0.00
+	10	3	5.32	1.64	0.00	95.08	2.15	40.96	39.21	1.65	7.85	0.00
+	10	4	2.47	4.09	0.00	100.00	2.36	42.26	32.57	5.06	11.70	3.51
+	11	2	16.98	3.29	0.00	86.49	1.26	59.65	16.21	5.76	6.82	4.24
+	11	3	24.08	3.85	5.22	99.05	4.47	39.37	27.68	4.25	9.00	1.67
+	11	4	10.00	4.00	0.00	70.59	11.26	36.67	22.03	4.68	15.00	0.00
+	12	1	64.08	50.17	16.68	75.62	10.33	47.80	24.65	3.76	19.93	38.43
+	12	2	94.65	49.63	19.92	87.86	13.71	67.63	16.80	9.94	36.05	45.93
+	12	4	77.53	16.26	0.00	82.89	13.87	23.73	33.41	2.73	39.13	28.70
+	13	1	25.56	16.42	54.55	39.06	23.88	43.33	43.10	0.00	52.63	0.00
+	13	2	50.34	20.63	42.86	56.97	24.49	31.10	26.32	5.48	55.56	21.89
+	13	3	95.22	23.53	19.12	63.39	17.62	35.76	26.27	8.19	42.78	12.63
+	13	4	34.27	21.32	16.92	58.96	14.86	41.33	32.32	5.52	23.72	17.42
+	14	2	16.00	37.50	34.17	43.06	27.21	56.29	30.40	5.56	37.80	38.41
+	14	3	18.43	37.95	46.91	57.17	33.09	85.47	19.62	6.69	30.26	47.97
+	14	4	4.57	20.98	41.86	57.05	20.66	36.17	34.91	5.85	28.61	32.01
+	15	5	0.00	15.66	25.93	64.10	20.62	21.14	42.34	1.00	45.33	9.35
+	16	1	1.16	4.79	0.00	56.96	22.22	33.40	20.25	2.51	69.95	16.35
+	17	2	2.17	13.92	23.06	45.53	15.89	26.67	33.87	6.60	52.53	17.72
+	17	6	13.27	16.06	3.45	80.81	26.86	33.83	36.31	2.05	45.36	17.67
+	19	1	6.05	12.64	0.00	69.78	11.85	32.74	49.60	5.02	44.04	8.42
+	19	2	80.00	5.00	-	65.06	15.63	41.11	31.61	0.00	15.00	45.00
+	19	3	56.76	16.01	17.39	76.96	10.00	21.62	45.45	4.26	25.37	2.21
+	20	1	87.37	21.63	13.21	79.64	5.97	22.42	44.30	1.68	49.24	6.09
+	20	3	94.64	25.26	0.00	56.20	7.97	27.06	51.48	10.61	37.36	29.06
+	20	4	91.14	16.61	46.89	65.89	25.00	28.14	32.69	5.62	47.16	17.61
+	20	5	95.20	31.65	0.00	68.71	18.13	37.55	45.54	12.12	36.50	19.20
+	21	2	80.08	25.64	40.88	83.74	19.45	27.65	55.03	5.78	29.18	10.33
+	24	1	0.75	17.86	53.33	48.19	14.74	38.47	38.77	4.22	45.62	9.49
+	24	3	1.98	10.60	45.59	81.68	24.26	31.63	38.71	3.54	35.51	16.34
+	24	4	17.77	41.89	38.27	56.07	13.86	63.67	22.92	7.97	21.64	39.58
-	24	5	0.97	15.12	60.61	52.58	24.07	41.65	41.67	11.26	37.21	20.16
+	24	6	0.00	10.71	-	31.62	28.00	22.66	36.06	16.79	57.14	42.86
+	26	1	16.05	3.03	0.00	100.00	0.00	26.35	36.45	2.97	0.00	0.00
+	26	2	2.16	8.28	0.00	78.62	5.76	29.53	54.91	3.68	16.43	7.66
+	26	3	1.56	16.81	42.42	49.36	11.16	29.26	43.62	3.40	26.69	8.40
+	27	3	1.50	20.04	19.72	70.11	7.46	28.74	43.60	1.16	26.06	9.58
+	27	5	0.00	22.73	35.71	65.00	16.46	28.37	27.72	17.02	20.45	13.64
+	28	1	35.68	22.82	7.76	56.04	8.46	20.65	44.41	4.13	24.48	9.13
+	28	2	2.82	20.20	25.00	47.77	23.19	27.50	37.82	6.34	46.04	21.74
+	28	3	79.00	54.30	28.32	84.96	17.93	74.87	16.38	7.11	25.55	58.51
+	29	1	14.09	32 16	45.12	55.56	19.93	59.84	27.66	5.65	25.44	34.63
+	29	4	5.52	13.41	37.31	58.56	7.46	21.92	60.74	1.79	40.65	2.65
+	31	2	0.16	10.99	0.00	70.66	6.23	21.66	72.53	4.72	35.60	4.19
+	32	3	75.03	25.63	16.79	66.43	22.97	22.75	42.67	7.94	42.91	16.45
+	34	1	0.00	7.32	0.00	72.96	26.74	26.16	72.05	0.00	23.17	13.41
+	35	4	24.17	39.06	73.42	32.27	32.77	97.90	11.49	4.63	21.69	52.36
+	37	1	11.09	3.76	0.00	96.43	4.55	26.29	32.41	0.79	5.31	0.00
+	37	2	7.66	6.24	0.00	77.62	5.46	35.12	33.16	2.77	44.16	11.66
+	37	3	19.27	5.71	27.27	83.61	4.14	21.59	42.47	4.21	27.67	6.17
+	40	3	0.99	6.62	43.37	77.62	4.96	20.57	49.96	5.50	22.14	3.31
-	50	3	0.00	5.00	-	100.00	21.43	22.86	87.16	0.00	0.00	0.00
-	55	2	0.00	0.00	47.63	50.00	8.22	29.85	49.61	11.11	34.76	0.00
+	4602	9	7.17	16.34	21.90	85.05	12.01	24.26	61.96	1.84	14.37	1.97
-	5202	3	0.00	17.39	100.00	87.72	13.04	34.92	84.50	0.00	85.22	30.43
-	5702	9	2.36	12.73	44.44	96.24	0.00	24.40	100.00	0.00	20.00	0.00

In City	Tract	Block Group	% Owner Occupied (Occ Units)	% >1.0 per room (Occ Units)	% Inc. Plumbing (Yr Round)	% Units Vacant (Yr Round)	% Same House 1975 (5+)	% 50+yr. old houses (Yr Round)	% No Car Available (Occ Units)
+	1	4	1.13	4.24	1.38	19.73	16.70	35.60	22.86
+	1	5	0.00	6.41	34.63	12.38	7.73	65.17	60.26
+	1	6	2.59	1.11	1.38	6.57	3.74	3.61	60.00
+	2	1	16.98	9.87	7.89	17.23	42.02	93.65	60.22
+	2	2	6.76	6.47	2.67	21.33	52.22	92.00	54.24
+	2	3	32.14	7.14	5.41	24.32	0.00	43.24	0.00
+	2	4	1.19	2.38	1.08	9.68	25.52	34.41	34.52
+	2	5	33.60	9.60	4.41	6.09	62.43	63.09	48.00
+	2	6	5.13	5.13	0.00	15.22	57.58	60.43	43.59
+	3	2	16.22	3.19	1.16	5.79	65.53	31.46	64.13
+	3	3	51.96	4.58	1.69	13.56	41.27	93.79	19.28
+	3	4	38.57	5.22	1.90	14.92	54.75	82.22	14.16
+	4	1	35.62	5.02	0.84	7.59	40.92	59.49	21.48
+	5	2	23.94	2.55	2.44	10.35	38.49	21.92	54.50
+	6	1	6.95	5.51	1.51	2.84	53.61	6.69	68.16
+	6	2	30.15	7.01	1.12	12.29	57.66	6.52	31.00
+	6	3	18.45	2.24	0.49	1.96	74.63	9.05	54.61
+	6	4	50.69	3.55	0.00	2.31	48.49	6.38	26.63
+	7	1	0.00	9.76	0.93	6.33	52.14	22.84	69.70
+	7	3	0.13	0.87	0.52	1.70	6.64	0.00	27.43
+	8	1	41.61	4.16	1.14	6.83	31.55	39.41	10.27
+	8	3	35.63	2.14	1.92	10.10	51.12	31.73	17.11
+	9	2	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20.30	0.00	0.00
+	9	3	5.64	6.16	2.16	7.56	14.36	6.91	17.09
+	10	2	13.90	1.22	4.36	10.26	31.33	53.39	26.54
+	10	3	14.21	3.63	10.45	6.96	3.50	26.86	27.32
+	10	4	12.26	0.56	1.09	6.56	16.96	39.34	11.70
+	11	2	3.53	4.24	11.76	10.71	0.00	48.53	26.24
+	11	3	2.63	3.99	4.45	6.56	6.34	26.47	20.03
+	11	4	16.00	5.00	4.07	16.70	15.25	63.41	35.00
+	12	1	25.09	7.56	0.65	6.13	37.19	30.00	44.33
+	12	2	10.66	4.69	1.86	5.61	54.26	64.86	61.48
+	12	4	52.17	6.96	2.66	17.27	57.53	36.69	30.43
+	13	1	34.21	10.53	23.53	25.49	24.10	62.35	42.11
+	13	2	34.92	4.23	9.42	15.25	51.96	53.61	36.10
+	13	3	43.32	5.66	2.79	13.02	56.60	66.37	56.29
+	13	4	57.06	11.41	1.69	6.46	54.62	52.25	31.23
+	14	2	35.37	10.37	1.13	7.34	51.71	26.61	37.50
+	14	3	12.79	6.40	0.36	15.95	46.67	36.20	56.00
+	14	4	49.01	10.46	1.52	10.63	51.11	45.06	17.65
+	15	5	65.72	4.53	1.34	5.11	52.31	69.62	21.25
+	16	1	19.95	1.33	1.33	0.00	69.84	12.77	65.16
+	17	2	55.70	6.66	3.41	10.23	66.09	52.84	27.65
+	17	6	57.63	5.22	1.49	7.43	79.66	54.26	17.67
+	19	1	47.71	6.42	0.79	14.17	66.20	25.96	10.09
+	19	2	57.50	2.50	0.00	6.96	46.24	23.26	35.00
+	19	3	45.96	5.66	0.33	10.23	53.67	45.67	32.72
+	20	1	76.66	7.61	1.33	12.63	47.05	37.61	14.21
+	20	3	70.19	4.91	1.43	5.36	65.09	29.29	24.91
+	20	4	63.56	5.67	2.47	6.22	62.69	35.34	33.73
+	20	5	51.69	7.36	1.21	4.44	59.65	11.49	26.06
+	21	2	68.39	4.56	0.85	7.32	54.62	24.23	14.59
+	24	1	52.55	10.22	2.05	6.48	48.16	54.27	16.61
+	24	3	64.77	3.98	2.70	4.86	45.47	38.92	21.31
+	24	4	29.29	6.60	1.75	5.49	54.21	13.47	30.34
-	24	5	53.49	4.65	10. .39	7.86	63.32	37.50	19.36
+	24	5	67.66	14.29	34.29	20.00	104.62	31.43	14.29
+	26	1	0.43	3.03	2.90	4.15	3.52	0.00	11.26
+	26	2	43.69	3.31	0.83	9.89	50.23	26.75	13.04
+	26	3	76.15	5.68	2.37	5.93	72.64	22.92	17.23
+	27	3	51.22	2.67	0.22	2.16	53.56	4.36	19.36
+	27	5	27.27	16.16	0.00	6.36	24.03	42.55	13.64
+	28	1	72.61	6.64	1.51	9.06	66.19	32.45	14.11
+	28	2	62.66	7.42	2.62	6.90	79.39	62.62	27.62
+	28	3	21.36	11.79	2.31	5.79	59.65	17.59	56.72
+	29	1	26.15	6.16	0.86	2.41	44.77	17.07	32.51
+	29	4	71.95	2.44	1.17	4.26	60.24	57.20	26.86
+	31	2	66.49	6.61	1.02	2.55	91.50	19.39	4.71
+	32	3	77.67	6.93	1.43	7.71	60.63	22.04	21.94
+	34	1	76.05	6.54	1.20	1.20	102.70	0.00	9.76
+	35	4	5.56	6.67	1.25	2.92	41.30	3.75	70.39
+	37	1	9.51	5.09	1.26	5.04	11.67	4.41	6.19
+	37	2	7.66	0.92	1.12	3.03	30.99	6.07	34.57
+	37	3	6.72	5.41	2.66	6.99	22.62	6.99	15.79
+	40	3	52.42	2.04	0.74	3.68	70.24	12.75	5.09
-	50	3	60.00	10.00	0.00	4.76	56.06	0.00	0.00
-	55	2	62.61	4.35	6.70	0.00	0.00	26.09	26.09
+	4602	9	19.29	0.96	0.59	25.07	19.65	3.54	3.74
-	5202	3	43.48	0.00	20.63	4.17	50.66	33.33	0.00
-	5702	9	60.00	0.00	0.00	6.76	54.76	0.00	0.00

APPENDIX 2
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Address _____

Block Group _____

University of Tennessee
Department of Geography
Neighborhood Survey

"Hello. My name is Sue Remaley. I am undertaking a study for the University of Tennessee Graduate School of Geography. The purpose of my work is to describe several different neighborhoods in Knoxville. I am currently interviewing a selected sample of residents in your area. I would like to ask you some questions about this community. The questions are in the form of a survey, which will require about twenty or thirty minutes of your time.

Participating in this interview will not endanger you or your neighborhood in any way. The survey is strictly voluntary, and you will not be penalized if you choose to not answer any of the survey questions, or even to terminate to interview completely. If you elect to participate, the information you provide will be strictly confidential. No names or addresses will ever be revealed. "

- General Household info:

1. Are you the head of the household? _____yes; _____no.

   1A. If no, what is your relationship to the head of the household?
   ____ spouse
   ____ child
   ____ step-child
   ____ parent
   ____ other

2. How many people live in the household? _____
   _____ both parents
   _____ just mother
   _____ just father
   _____ children (#)
   _____ step children (#)
   _____ grandparents (#)
   _____ other extended family _____
   _____ non family members (#) _____

• Neighborhood Characteristics, Neighborhood Perception, and Former Residence.
First of all, I want to ask you a few questions about this neighborhood and how you like it here.

1. If someone you meet in Knoxville asks you where you live, what is your answer?
_____ neighborhood name _____
_____ part of town _____
_____ street address or instructions to specific house

1A. If street address- Does this part of town have any particular name?
_____ no; _____ yes. _____

2. How long have you lived at this address:
_____ all of my life _____ # of years _____ # of months

3. Have you lived in any other house of apartment in this neighborhood?
_____no _____ yes

3A. If yes,- How long have you lived in this neighborhood?
_____ all of my life
_____ number of years
_____ number of months

3B. If none of the answers are "all my life," Where did you grow up"

_____ outside of Appalachia; __ rural __urban __small town.
_____ outside of Tennessee; __ rural __urban __small town.
_____ outside of East Tennessee;__ rural __urban __small town.
_____ outside of Knoxville; __ rural __urban __small town.
_____ Knoxville neighborhood _____

4. Where did the parents of the head of the household grow up? _____
_____ outside of Appalachia; __ rural __urban __small town.
_____ outside of Tennessee; __ rural __urban __small town.
_____ outside of East Tennessee;__ rural __urban __small town.
_____ outside of Knoxville; __ rural __urban __small town.
_____ Knoxville neighborhood _____

4A. If HH has a spouse, where did he/she grow up? _____
4B. Where did spouses parents grow up? _____

5. About how long do you intend to stay in this neighborhood?
_____ less than 1 year
_____ 1-2 years
_____ 2-5 years
_____ more than 5 years

5A. If respondent intends to move- Why do you expect to move?
_____ house related response
_____ neighborhood related response
_____ job related response
_____ other _____

6. From your personal point of view, how would you rate this neighborhood as a place to live
_____ excellent _____ good _____ fair _____ poor

7. What things do you especially like about living in this neighborhood?
_____
_____

8. What things do you especially dislike about living in this neighborhood?
_____
_____

9. I'm going to read to you some problems that some neighborhoods have. I would like for you to tell me whether you feel each problem is (1)not a problem at all, (2) a small, problem, or (3) a severe problem in this neighborhood.
_____a. crime
_____b. housing
_____c. dirty streets and sidewalks
_____d. unemployment
_____e. racial tension
_____f. lack of things to do
_____g. low pay, not enough money to live on
_____h. noise
_____i. lack of good schools
_____j. lack of medical facilities
_____k. lack of shopping facilities
_____l pollution
_____m. lack of cooperation among residents
_____n. other _____
_____
_____

10. If you could live in any other neighborhood in Knoxville, what would it be? _____
10A. Why? _____

- Shopping Patterns and Transportation
  Now, I would like to ask you a few questions abut your job and how you live your daily life.

1. Is the head of the household employed? If yes, what is his/her job?
   _____ employed
   _____ unemployed
   _____ retired
   _____ disabled
   JOB DESCRIPTION _____

   1A. If employed, where is his/her job located? _____
   _____ inside block group
   _____ inside conceptual neighborhood
   _____ outside of neighborhood

2. Is any one that lives in this house employed, other than the head of the household? _____no; _____yes;
   _____ spouse
   _____ children or step children(#)
   _____ grandparents (#)
   _____ other

   2A. If yes, what kinds of work do they do? _____
   Where? _____
   _____ professional
   _____ technical
   _____ sales
   _____ administration
   _____ service occupations
   _____ crafts, repair
   _____ operators, fabricators, laborers

3. Where do you go to buy your groceries? _____
   _____ large supermarket _____ local store _____other

4. Where is that store located? _____
   _____ inside block group
   _____ inside conceptual neighborhood
   _____ outside of neighborhood

5. Do you or your family use any of the following to get to work, buy groceries, or get around town?
   _____ public transportation
   _____ car pooling; With whom? _____
   _____ other non-automotive transportation _____

•Personal Characteristics

-Religion:

1. Are you a member of a church? _____ yes; _____no.
   1A. If yes, what church do you attend?_____.
   _____ Baptist; _____ Methodist; _____ Presbyterian;
   _____ Lutheran; _____ Catholic; _____ other; _____

   1B. Where is the church you attend?(Show Map)_____
   _____ within block group;
   _____ within conceptual neighborhood;
   _____ outside of neighborhood;

2. When is the last time you attended a church service?
   _____ less than one week ago; _____ one week ago; _____ two weeks ago; _____ one month or less ago; _____ more than one month ago; _____ never attend;

- Family and Friends:

1. Outside of your household, how many of your family members live in this neighborhood? _____. Relationships _____

2. How many times in the past week have you visited with or telephoned family members that don't live in this house?
   _____ not at all; _____ once; _____ twice; _____ three or four times;_____ five or six times; _____ seven or more times;

3. What percentage of your close friends live in this neighborhood?
   _____ none
   _____ about 1/4
   _____ about 1/2
   _____ about 3/4
   _____ all

- Income Compensation:

1. Do you receive public assistance from the government?
   _____ no.
   _____yes
   _____ Aid to families with Dependant Children
   _____ Supplemental Social Security
   _____ VA Benefits
   _____ Public Housing
   _____ Food Stamps
   _____ other _____.

2..If no, would you ever accept any of these forms of public assistance from the government?

_____ no.
_____yes
_____ Aid to families with Dependant Children
_____ Supplemental Social Security
_____ VA Benefits
_____ Public Housing
_____ Food Stamps
_____ other _____.

3. If you ever found yourself in a situation in which you didn't have enough money, who would you rely on?

_____ family
_____ friends
_____ neighbors
_____ church
_____ government
_____ no one
_____ other _____.

4. How do you feel about people who rely on the government of other people to help them get by?

_____ strongly approve. _____ approve. _____ neutral
_____disapprove _____ strongly disapprove.

5. Do you or any of your family members have any of the following?

_____ garden in which you grow food
_____ any "side jobs" you do for money like babysitting, working on cars, sewing, etc. _____
_____
_____ child support benefits, alimony, etc.

• Housing

1. Does your family own this house? _____yes; _____no.

2. How many rooms are in your house? _____.

3. What year was your house built? _____

_____ Earlier than 1939
_____ 1939-1959; _____ 1959-1979; _____ later than 1979;

4. What do you like about your house?

_____
_____
_____

5. Is there anything you don't like about your house?

_____ insufficient space
_____ hard to heat
_____ plumbing problems
_____ leaky rooves
_____ other _____

• Lastly, I need to ask you a few questions about you and your household that will help me to understand your responses.

1. Sex of respondent:

2. Race of respondent:

3. What is your age?

_____ 18-24	_____55-64
_____ 25-34	_____65-74
_____ 35-44	_____75+
_____ 45-54	

4. How many years of school did the head of the household complete?

_____ 0-8
_____ 9-11
_____ vocational training
_____ high school graduate
_____ some college
_____ college graduate
_____ some graduate work

5. Which of the following best indicates the 1989 income of this household?

_____ <$3,000
_____ $3,000 - $4,499
_____ $4,500 - $6,499
_____ $6,500 - $9,999
_____ $10,00 - $14,999
_____ $15,000 - $19,999
_____ $20,000 - $24,999
_____ >$25,000

Interviewer Observations
(to be completed as leaving interview)

1. How would you rate the appearance of this lot?
   _____ excellent _____ good _____ fair _____ poor
   Problems: _____

2. What is the architectural style of the house?_____

3. How well is the structure maintained?
   _____ excellent _____ good _____ fair _____ poor
   Problems: _____

4. Is there litter on this lot?
   _____ yes _____ no

5. What types of vegetation are present on this lot?
   _____ trees: ___ a lot; ___ a few;
   _____ decorative plants: ___ a lot; ___ a few;
   _____ weeds: ___ a lot; ___ a few;
   _____ lawn

6. How well is the vegetation maintained?
   _____ excellent _____ good _____ fair _____ poor

7. Are there any animals present on the lot?
   _____ no; _____ yes; types_____.

8. Does the lot have a driveway?
   _____ yes _____ no

9. How would you rate the upkeep of the lots on this street?
   _____ excellent _____ good _____ fair _____ poor

10. What is the amount of building coverage on this street?
    _____ rural/estate like _____ _____ _____ built up

11. How would you describe the topography of the area surrounding the structure
    _____ flat _____ slightly sloped _____ hilly _____steeply sloped

12. Was there any evidence of neighboring during the interview? (visits, phone calls, etc.)
    _____ yes _____ no

APPENDIX 3
SURVEY RESPONSES

SURVEY RESPONSES

	Block Group 3 Census Tract 26	Block Group 5 Census Tract 24	Block Group 5 Census Tract 15
% Non-white	5	0	0
% High school graduates	35	30	55
Persons/household (average)	2.9	2.0	3.2
% Households with children headed by females	5	10	15
% Households with extended family in household	25	10	35
% Households with family members in block group[a]	70	70	20
Family members in block group (average)[a]	5.6	7.1	.3
Years at current address (average)	19.6	21.4	14.1
% Thirty or more years	40	35	15
% Five or less years	40	45	35
Years in block group (average)	32.9	32.8	15.8
% Thirty or more years	60	45	20
% Five or less years	40	10	35
% Born in block group[b]	42	45	15
In Knoxville[b]	79	75	44
In Knoxville MSA[b]	85	89	56
% Parents born in block group[b]	27	22	2
In Knoxville[b]	53	47	43
In Knoxville MSA[b]	67	78	53
Year of migration to block group			
% Before 1931	10	20	0
% 1931-1940	5	10	5
% 1941-1950	30	10	10
% 1951-1960	15	5	5
% 1961-1970	5	20	15
% 1971-1980	5	10	15
% 1981-1990	30	20	50
% Intending to leave block group	5	5	25
% Intending to stay in block group more than 5 years	80	70	60
% Rating neighborhood excellent	10	15	0
% Rating neighborhood poor	5	20	5
% Citing the following as neighborhood problems:			
Traffic	0	5	25
Crime	0	15	0
Drinking and Drugs	15	25	10
People	15	20	25
Junk in yards	10	25	0
Dogs	0	10	0

SURVEY RESPONSES (CONTINUED)

	Block Group 3 Census Tract 26	Block Group 5 Census Tract 24	Block Group 5 Census Tract 15
Roosters	0	5	0
Feuds	0	15	0
% Citing the following as neighborhood assets:			
Quiet	0	0	35
Location	35	40	50
People	55	45	35
% Household heads employed	40	40	50
% Household heads retired	35	40	30
% Household heads disabled	5	10	5
% Household heads unemployed	20	10	15
% Households more than one income	30	25	45
% With jobs located in block group	20	15	5
% With household incomes of 20,000 or more	30	23	28
% With household incomes of 4,500 or less	25	23	10
% Performing "extra" jobs for money	40	55	40
% Receiving public assistance	35	30	30
AFDC	0	10	15
SSI	20	10	0
Food Stamps	5	15	20
% Church members	80	70	85
% Attending church at least one day per week	40	42	47
% Church members belonging to church in block group	47	79	24
% Shopping at stores in block group	0	10	0
% With family food gardens	50	60	10
% Owner-occupied	100	75	70
Average rooms/house	5.00	4.95	5.50
% Houses built before 1939	50	50	80
% Dissatisfied with house	45	30	35
Hard to heat	15	20	20
Plumbing problems	5	5	0
Leaky roofs	10	0	15

Notes:

[a] Only family members outside the respondents household.

[b] Includes head of household and spouse.

VITA

Sue A. Remaley was born March 23, 1964 in Kutztown, Pennsylvania, the only child of David and Shirley Remaley. She grew up in Kutztown, and graduated from Kutztown Area Senior High School in 1982. She attended Kutztown University in 1982, where she was first introduced to geography.

Wanting to experience the extracurricular joys of college life, Sue transferred to West Chester University, a small college in suburban Philadelphia, in 1983. With guidance and inspiration from Dr. Arlene Rengert, she graduated summa cum laude in 1986, with a B.A. in geography. Between 1984 and 1988 she worked as a planner for Cahill Associates, an environmental consulting firm in West Chester.

In August of 1988, Sue was offered a teaching assistantship in the department of geography at the University of Tennessee. At the University of Tennessee, she cultivated interests in urban systems, rural Appalachia, and the interaction between the two. More importantly, she developed a passion for her discipline and realized that it's possible to truly enjoy hard work. She received a M.S. in Geography in May 1992.

Sue is currently teaching geography at West Chester University.